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MEGHAN HEALY-CLANCY
ON TEACHING THE LIFE OF
WINNIE MADIKIZELA- MANDELA

VOLUME 37, NUMBER 2 NOVEMBER 2018 BRIDGEWATER STATE UNIVERSITY

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On the Front Cover: ***Winnie Mandela in New York City, June 20, 1990*** *(Photo Credit: Luc Novovitch / Alamy Stock Photo).*

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

This is the first occasion in the history of the magazine that Bridgewater Review *has an all-female editorial staff.*

The Personal is Political

In April of 2015 I chaired a roundtable at the American Conference for Irish Studies on Irish poet Eavan Boland and her powerful collection, *Domestic Violence*. To many, Boland is rivaled only by Seamus Heaney in her nuanced ability to navigate the Irish experience from a personal perspective that gently and brilliantly overlaps with the Irish national gaze. And in the poetic tradition of Heaney, she is often quoted as claiming that her poetry is neither political nor feminist. Yet, in the wake of the repeal of the Eighth Amendment to the Irish Constitution, a referendum that will end the constitutional ban on abortion in Ireland, and the tremendous vigor of #wakingthefeminists, an Irish movement similar to #metoo, it has become impossible to ignore the feminist voice, conscious or unconscious, that informs so much of Irish women's poetry, particularly works like Boland's *Domestic Violence*.

I was surprised by two moments during that 2015 roundtable and often find them resurfacing when I teach Boland, especially when I consider the question of whether any kind of Irish art or literature can shirk politics. During the opening remarks, our roundtable discussed the title of the collection, asking whether the reference to domestic violence could be separated from its legislative and physical connotations. One of my male colleagues argued that we must separate it; that the title is more than a personal reference but a national imperative and a way for the poet to transcend gender politics by speaking to national history. I was blindsided by this argument because, for me, domestic violence is not only a marring political act but also always one that lays claim, usually to the detriment of the victim, to any personal experience thereafter. In effect, I cannot see domestic violence, whenever referenced, as anything less than personally political.

Toward the end of what turned out to be a fiery debate about the politics of poetry, after I argued ferociously time and again that *Domestic Violence* is a political and, more importantly, feminist book, a female colleague yelled to me from the back of the room, in a resentful tone, "What is your definition of feminism, then?" I would say that you have maybe five seconds in that moment, standing in front of a room full of colleagues, put on the spot to define something that you usually assume speaks for itself, before chaos erupts. It only took me one second to say, "My definition of feminism is the personal is political."

It has occurred to me many times over the past two years, since Gloria Steinem disappointed so many young voters by urging us to vote for Hillary Clinton and, simultaneously, reminded so many middle-aged voters why feminism is an essential part of the work we do every day, that students at Bridgewater State University tend to live lives that deliberately make the political personal on a regular basis. Sometimes choosing to go to college is a political act for our students. Sometimes choosing to miss class or settle for a "C" is a personal choice made to maintain the political act of staying enrolled, of slouching toward the Bethlehem of graduation.

Feminism will always be personal and political to me and it will continue to be the lens through which I best understand our students. If nothing else, it has given me this perspective because it is a term defined by the pressure it puts on a binary. That pressure has increased exponentially as women enter more into the political arena in preparation for the next election cycle. Political struggle has become openly personal and the power behind that transition carries historical momentum and hopefulness, tools that can tear down even the most rigid of binary oppositions.

Ellen Scheible is Associate Professor in the Department of English.

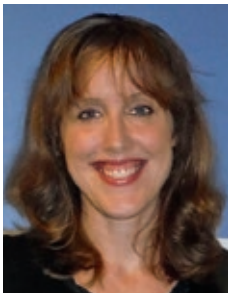
"You Women are All Alike." **The Hard Times Press**, *Feb. 2, 1972 [BSC student newspaper], Archives & Special Collections, Bridgewater State University.*

The women's (or feminist) movement in the United States has seen numerous iterations, from early efforts to extend basic rights to (white) women, expanding and changing with time to emphasize suffrage, labor and representation rights, contraception and abortion rights, and, more recently, a focus on greater inclusion, the ubiquity of sexual violence and coercion, and a renewed focus to get women in positions of political power.

Currently, we are witnessing unprecedented numbers of women running for political office. The Center for American Women and Politics found that 53 women (31 Democrats and 22 Republicans) filed for Senate candidacy and 22 won their primaries. Four hundred seventy-six women (356 Democrats, 120 Republicans) filed to run for the House of Representatives and 234 have won their primaries. State and local races have seen similarly unparalleled numbers of women running for office. While more Democratic than Republican women are running in all races, there is a bipartisan rise in women's candidacy for political office.

It is impossible to draw unyielding conclusions about why, but the current uptick in women's political participation cannot be argued. What may be most exciting about women's political moves is that we are seeing newcomers unseat long-standing incumbents, such as Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez in New York City and Ayanna Pressley in Boston. And many of the women now running for office are women of color, including Rashida Tlaib in Michigan and Gina Ortiz-Jones in Texas, who are vocal about representing all people, but who will provide a breadth of personal experience that differs significantly from some of the representatives they hope to replace. Importantly, LGBTQ candidates are also running in record numbers: Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona and Sharice Davids of Kansas, for example.

By the time this issue is in print, we will know if primary winners have emerged winners in the general election but regardless, women's success in the primaries indicates there is openness for new ideas and diverse perspectives which I hope will continue. For most feminists, the personal has long been political: many of the women on the ballots this year, whether they consider themselves feminist or not, are taking their personal public. And while "identity politics" is often publicly denigrated, openness about one's personal narrative and the ways our personal histories intersect with social and economic realities may allow others to find commonality. Thus the personal can help us, but especially our students, connect with each other, with new ideas, and with a sense of their own potential, personal revelations that can have long-lasting effects.



Norma Anderson is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology.

Nomzamo: Teaching Complexity through the Life of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela

Meghan Healy-Clancy

When Winnie Madikizela-Mandela passed away in early April 2018, I was teaching my seminar on Apartheid and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. I have been studying apartheid for well over a decade, but I am always surprised by the excitement and challenge of teaching about it. Before my class, students have rarely learned much about the racist regime that ruled South Africa from 1948 to 1994, or about the global human rights movement that tenaciously fought to transform South Africa into an inclusive democracy. But students often come into my class convinced of one thing: apartheid ended primarily because of the heroic actions of one man, Nelson Mandela.

I aim for students to leave my class grasping the complexity of anti-apartheid activism—both in and far beyond the campaigns to which Mandela was central. The anti-apartheid movement drew upon Christianity and communism; it enlisted families in boycott campaigns and militants in bombing campaigns. It rallied ordinary people—especially young people—from Soweto to university campuses in Massachusetts; it eventually captured the moral imagination of the world. And it culminated in a democratic transition that no one expected: a transition at once remarkably peaceful in Pretoria's corridors of power, and filled with enduring violence and tension in communities across South Africa. I teach this complexity by bringing an array of voices to class, through primary sources ranging from manifestos to songs. My students encounter many famous and unheralded South Africans, who reveal that apartheid ended through decades of struggle, shaped by many forms of both heroism and villainy. This April, we talked more than ever about the late Madikizela-Mandela.

For no one emblematized the complexity of anti-apartheid activism more than the woman known before her marriage as Nomzamo Winifred Zanyiwe Madikizela: her isiXhosa first name can aptly be interpreted as "mother of struggle." It is not only that she embodied the difficulties of commitment to the anti-apartheid movement, which South Africans call "The Struggle," and served as "mother of the nation." It is also that seeing the liberation movement through her perspective is itself a struggle, causing students to grapple with core questions of social history that transcend South Africa. How do we understand political transformations differently when we examine them not only through the lives of "great men," but also through the lives of women? How does change look different when viewed "from above"—from the vantage point of high politics—and "from below"—through people's everyday experiences? Ultimately, what are the personal costs of participating in a world-historic revolution?

***Winnie Mandela** (Photo in Public Domain).*

No one challenged the great man narrative of South African history centered on Nelson Mandela more than his former wife. "Mandela was extricated from the masses," Madikizela-Mandela told *London Review of Books* journalist Stephen Smith in 2013, in an interview featured in Smith's "Mandela: Death of a Politician" (2014). "He was made an idol, almost Jesus Christ! This is nonsense, a lot of nonsense. The freedom of this country was attained by the masses of this country… It was attained by women who were left to fend for their families… We are the ones who fought the enemy physically, who went out to face their bullets. The leaders were cushioned behind bars. They don't know. They never engaged the enemy on the battlefield."

Students initially tend to find her critique shocking. Her claim that "leaders were cushioned" on Robben Island, the prison off the coast of Cape Town where Mandela spent most of his

27 years of confinement, is offensive. Mandela nearly went blind from the glare of the sun during forced labor in the prison's limestone quarry. He and other prisoners endured violence and periods of solitary confinement, and many never expected to leave, as Mandela detailed in his 1994 memoir *Long Walk to Freedom*. Her suggestion that her ex-husband and other political prisoners had "never engaged the enemy on the battlefield" is absurd. Mandela was imprisoned for leading the sabotage campaign of Umkhonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the People," or MK), a militant organization founded by the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party, key members of which spent decades in prison beside him.

Stencil graffiti of Winnie Mandela, Barcelona, Spain *(Photo Credit: Guy Moberly/Alamy Stock Photo).*

Yet, as students reflect more fully on the anti-apartheid movement, they begin to understand her perspective. Robben Island was a political prison, but resilient prisoners turned it into "Robben Island University." They played soccer and discussed Shakespeare. Activists without formal schooling—including future president Jacob Zuma—were tutored by university-educated prisoners like Mandela. And above all, they talked politics and organized to protest prison policies. Loyalties forged in prison were enduring, with time on Robben Island later serving as a badge of honor for political candidates: in both popular culture and scholarship, Robben Island has frequently figured as a cradle of democracy. As Mandela famously said, with dark humor, "In my country we go to prison first and then become president." The 1994 collection *Voices from Robben Island* illuminates the prison experiences of Mandela and other men who would lead democratic South Africa.

Women were absent from Robben Island, which was reserved for black men. But women were far from absent from the democratic struggle. Women led early fights against "pass laws," the despised documents that black South Africans were forced to carry to prove that they were employed by white South Africans, or otherwise authorized to be in cities deemed "white areas." My class studies photographs of 20,000 women marching on the prime minister's offices to protest pass laws, in the famous protest on a day in 1956 now commemorated as Women's Day. We read their eloquent words decrying how apartheid was destroying homes and dividing families. We listen to the "struggle songs" they sang—paying close attention to their lyric, "When you strike a woman, you strike a rock."

Winnie Mandela in exile in Brandfort, South Africa, in 1977 *(Photo Credit: Pictorial Press Ltd/Alamy Stock Photo).*

Women were the core of resistance. They suffered arrests and detention in the Women's Jail in Johannesburg and Pretoria Central Prison. Leading women activists, like their male counterparts, were "banned," meaning that it was illegal for them to speak in public or attend meetings. They were confined to house arrest and exiled—forced to leave the country, or forcibly removed to remote rural areas. Examining women's activism brings into clearer focus apartheid's violence toward families: as my research explores, women tended to root their political commitment in their commitments as mothers and wives.

Madikizela-Mandela's political coming-of-age epitomized how anti-apartheid activism was a family project. She was initially politicized by her family, Mpondo royalty who had fought against colonial expropriation of their family lands long before apartheid. With the support of her schoolteacher parents, she launched a career devoted to black families: in 1956, in her early twenties, she became the first black social worker at Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, the vast black township outside of Johannesburg. Black women teachers and health professionals were highly respected, their work celebrated in African nationalist publications as a contribution to the struggle; to activist men, a pioneering social worker was a catch. Soon after she began work, her nurse roommate married ANC activist Oliver Tambo, partner in South Africa's first black-run law firm, Mandela and Tambo. In 1957, Winnie began dating Nelson. This was not an easy match: nearly forty years old, Mandela was going through both a divorce and a trial for treason, due to his leadership of the ANC's recent campaigns of non-violent mass resistance. But the politically-engaged young Winnie quickly became engaged to Nelson, and they married soon after his divorce was final, their bridal car covered in ANC regalia. As the treason trials of Mandela and other ANC leaders stretched on, Madikizela-Mandela became a more serious activist, as journalist Emma Gilbey described in her 1994 biography, *The Lady: Life and Times of Winnie Mandela*. In 1958, five months pregnant, she was jailed at an anti-pass law protest, losing her job at the hospital. Despite this repression, the Mandelas built a home in Soweto. Mandela was acquitted of treason, as the state could not prove that the ANC was plotting violence.

In the 1960s, everything changed. In April 1960, the government banned the ANC and other liberation movements, after a massive new wave of protests and unprecedented police violence. Leading activists either went into exile, or went underground: law partners Tambo and Mandela exemplified these strategies, as Tambo moved to London to lead the ANC's global campaigns and Mandela traveled the country undercover, disguised as a chauffeur for a white communist comrade. In December 1961, the ANC—previously committed to non-violence—launched the armed wing MK, which began to bomb power plants and government buildings. Mandela, a key architect of MK, again faced trial, and now he was convicted of plotting revolution. In 1964, he went to Robben Island. He would not be released from prison until 1990.

> "The freedom of this country was attained by the masses of this country… It was attained by women who were left to fend for their families… We are the ones who fought the enemy physically, who went out to face their bullets."

During Mandela's long imprisonment, his words and image were banned in South Africa. His wife, and in time their two daughters, spoke for him, demanding the liberation of political prisoners and the end of apartheid. Their home in Soweto became a cell

for MK recruitment. In return, officials repressed the Mandela family mercilessly. In 1965, Madikizela-Mandela was issued the first of several banning orders: she was restricted to her neighborhood, barred from activism. In 1969, police descended on her home in a 2 a.m. raid, arresting her on charges of terrorism. She spent 491 days in detention at Pretoria Central Prison, enduring months of solitary confinement and torture, and worrying ceaselessly about her daughters, as she detailed in prison diaries published in 2013 as *491 Days: Prisoner Number 1323/69*. Upon her release in 1970, she returned to her children and home, but was placed under house arrest and prohibited from having visitors. She furtively continued to work for the ANC and MK, resulting in another six-month prison term from 1974 to 1975. After her release, she founded the Black Women's Federation, which aimed to "re-direct the status of motherhood" to include supporting Soweto's student activists, as its archives at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, detail.

When Soweto exploded in unrest after student protests in 1976, officials found Madikizela-Mandela's presence in the community dangerous. She was banished in 1977 to the remote village of Brandfort, where she knew no one and did not speak the local language. Police surveilled her and her family constantly. But both her social service and political defiance continued: she opened a clinic serving local families, recruited for MK, and spoke to visiting journalists in spite of her ban. She shaped the ANC's global campaign for the release of political prisoners by speaking on behalf of her husband, to whom she had limited but singular access. And increasingly, she snuck away. In February 1985, when her daughter Zindzi read a statement from Mandela to an ecstatic crowd in a Soweto stadium, Madikizela-Mandela was there, disguised as a domestic worker,

[Winnie Mandela] embodied the personal costs of participating in a revolution: she was imprisoned, tortured, and separated from her family.

Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC, released from prison in 1990, salutes the crowd with his wife Winnie Mandela *(Photo Credit: Trinity Mirror/Mirrorpix/Alamy Stock Photo).*

Women were the core of resistance. They suffered arrests and detention in the Women's Jail in Johannesburg and Pretoria Central Prison. Leading women activists, like their male counterparts, were "banned," meaning that it was illegal for them to speak in public or attend meetings.

as described in Pascale Lamche's 2017 documentary *Winnie*. Enraged by her influence, security police burned down her Brandfort house in August 1985.

She then returned to Soweto, in brazen defiance of her ban. Her home became a center for young activists, who called her "Mama Winnie." They joined a soccer team under her patronage—the Mandela United Football Club—and served as her bodyguards. It is here that her story—already exemplifying apartheid's violence—becomes even more painful to teach. Examining South Africa's turbulent era between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s from her home in Soweto reveals the gulf between how the end of apartheid looked from above and below. From the perspective of high politics, the negotiated transition seemed miraculously smooth. But in communities like Soweto, the transition was anything but peaceful. Between the time of Madikizela-Mandela's return to Soweto and South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994, some 20,000 South Africans were killed in political violence—many at the hands of their neighbors. On New Year's Day in 1989, fourteen-year-old Stompie Seipei thus lost his life—at the hands of members of the Mandela United Football Club, and reportedly at the orders of "Mama." He was accused of being a spy, informing police about activities at Madikizela-Mandela's home. When the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) investigated this and other murders linked to Madikizela-Mandela, she would say only "things went horribly wrong." Her testimony aired in 1997 on the South African Broadcasting Corporation's *Truth Commission Special Report*—sparking a national conversation about the violence of the "mother of the nation" in the name of the anti-apartheid movement. (Political scientist Shireen Hassim explores this ongoing conversation in the next issue of the *Journal of Southern African Studies*.)

Winnie Mandela's coffin *(Photo Credit: SOPA Images Limited/Alamy Stock Photo).*

When students watch Madikizela-Mandela's TRC hearing, they are horrified to see how much more harrowing South Africa's democratic transition was than the image of an elated Nelson Mandela, hand and hand with Winnie after his release from prison, would suggest. "She seems so repulsive at the TRC," one student said in April, visibly stunned after having admired Madikizela-Mandela's courage in Brandfort during a previous class discussion. We then discuss how she got there. As Madikizela-Mandela herself maintained, her experiences of intense state violence hardened her. She embodied the personal costs of participating in a revolution: she was

London UK 28th April 2018. Pictures of Winnie Mandela are projected on to the windows at South Africa house following her death *(Photo Credit: amer ghazzal/Alamy Stock Photo).*

imprisoned, tortured, and separated from her family. The revolution—and especially the security police's extensive counterrevolution—also made her paranoid. After the Soweto protests in 1976, the South African police and military infiltrated the liberation movement with a network of spies. Often these spies were former revolutionaries, "turned" through torture. Others had their own political or personal reasons for informing on activists, including police paychecks. The spy program was not publicly known until the TRC and subsequent investigations—and in fact it remains a challenging subject to research, as historian Jacob Dlamini shows in his 2015 *Askari: A Story of Collaboration and Betrayal in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle*. But the presence of informers led accusations and counter-accusations of spying to proliferate, with Madikizela-Mandela stalwart in her calls for ANC loyalists to root out spies.

At the end of our discussions about Madikizela-Mandela, it is impossible for students to see the anti-apartheid movement as a straightforward story of heroism. It looks more like an epic of complexity—a very human struggle, that historians continue to struggle to understand, using the tools of social history.

Meghan Healy-Clancy is Assistant Professor in the Department of History.

Social Norms, Gender Roles and Time Use: Multigenerational Households in India

Aseem Hasnain and Abhilasha Srivastava

Unlike Hollywood stories, marriage is not just the beginning of the happily ever after, but also the starting point for a number of hard questions. Who will go out to work? Who will do household chores? Who will look after the kids and elderly? And so on. According to the Nobel laureate economist, Gary Becker, the answer to these questions comes from an unlikely but dependable source: division of labor. His idea that rational calculations may underpin romantic relationships goes back to the 1970s when Becker first proposed an economic model of marriage, arguing that marriage was based on the principle of division of labor, and that gains from marriage were determined by how efficient this division was. The one with comparative advantage at earning wages would go out and work; and the other person would do the chores and stay at home.

However, this model was contested by feminist, institutional, and social economists who claimed that the couple negotiated division of labor under the influence of social norms, institutions, biases, and power relations. This article uses time use data from India to show how household division of labor is not simply a rational or objective decision based on individual's capacities to earn wages in the market, but a complex function of social norms and notions about expected gender roles.

Over time, household division of labor and its implications for individual well-being became an important area of study for economists and sociologists alike who were interested in studying work-life balance, resource allocation, and bargaining within the family. Time use data, which was collected by national statistical survey organizations based in individual countries since the early 1980's, came in handy for this purpose. This data revealed how much time individuals devote to activities such as paid work, unpaid work including household chores and childcare, leisure, and self-care activities. This data helped researchers in improving their understanding about how people made decisions about time and how it affected their well-being. Surprisingly, time use data also revealed a *global* reality: despite an increase in married women's labor force participation, they did disproportionately more unpaid work than men. This anomaly was starker in the Global South where a large number of women never entered the formal workforce, or quit jobs to take care of children and the elderly in multigenerational households. However, scholarship on household division of labor has tended to focus on married couples in nuclear families only, the dominant household structure in advanced industrialized nations.

In developing economies, multigenerational households are common. These households accommodate three to four generations and make joint decisions about consumption and division of labor. Further, gender norms governing the multigenerational family differ substantially from a nuclear family, as there are multiple actors, both male and female, with varying roles and expectations living as one unit. In such living arrangements, women undertake a disproportionately heavy load of unpaid care work as there are almost no market substitutes for such work; there is poor infrastructure; and food security is an ongoing concern. In India, the multigenerational, patriarchal, patrilocal household is the prevalent form of family, and about 312 million people live in such an arrangement. A typical multigenerational household includes the husband's parents—father-in-law, mother-in-law, the husband (son), his wife (daughter-in-law), and their children. Usually, the father-in-law makes unilateral decisions about consumption expenditures and distribution of public goods within the household, while the mother-in-law makes decisions about division of labor. She passes on most of the household work to the daughter-in-law, according to traditionally established gender roles. The son (husband) is usually the primary breadwinner, and his wife (daughter-in-law) is subordinate to her husband as well as to her parents-in-law.

In India, the multigenerational household creates the greatest restraint on the daughter-in-law's freedom. The typical Indian bride enters a patriarchal family through an arranged marriage, where she is expected to become obedient to

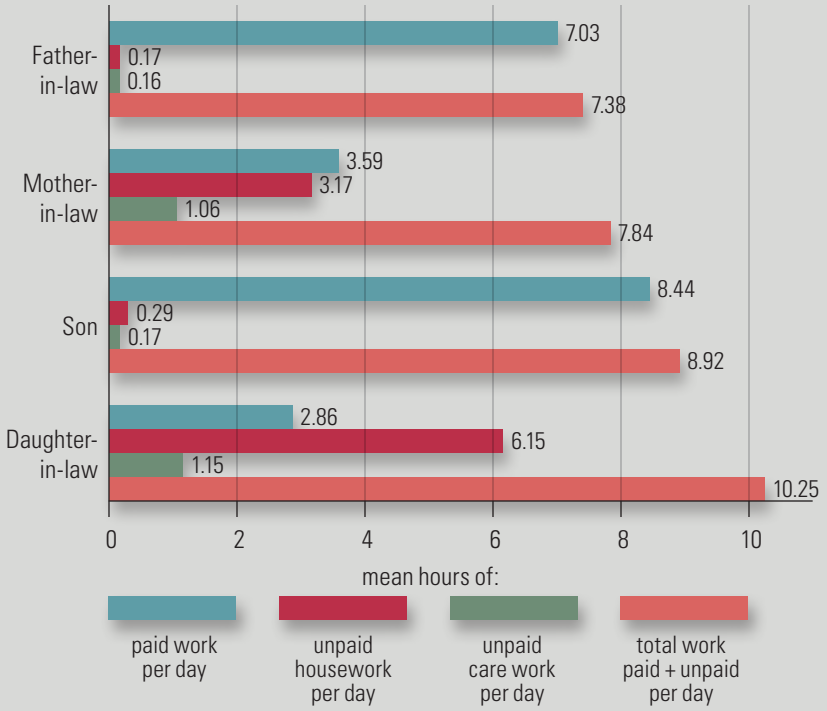
him and his parents. Along with her husband, her mother-in-law also monitors her access to material resources and external contacts. Consequently, co-residence with in-laws is associated with stricter gender norms and, in turn, lower scores on measures of the daughter-in-law's autonomy. The mother-in-law plays a major role in encouraging daughters-in-law to adhere to norms such as 'housework is the ideal wifely duty.' Thus in a multigeneration patriarchal household, the private sphere of housework is negotiated and contested between the two women, but under an unequal power relation.

We use data from the only available, nationally representative Indian time use survey (1998-99) to show such a division of labor in multigenerational families.

Multi-tasking lady *(Photo Credit: Zulfiqar Sheth, 2012).*

Graph 1 shows time-allocation in mean hours of work for all members of the household. Activities are divided into paid work (work done for wages outside the house), unpaid housework (cooking, cleaning, laundry and household repair and maintenance), unpaid care work (care of children, sick and elderly), and total work (total of paid and unpaid work). Results point to a strict division of household labor along gender lines where men do most of the work in the paid labor market and women do all the unpaid work in the household. Results also point to differences in housework allocation within the same gender, with the daughters-in-law doing twice the amount of unpaid work than their mothers-in-law. Data shows that a daughter-in-law is the most time-poor individual in the multigenerational household as she undertakes significantly more total work, compared to all other members in the household. Male members are almost completely absent from day-to-day tasks within the house and the division of labor in the household is only between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, with the daughters-in-law shouldering a disproportionately high burden of household chores (known as reproductive work among field specialists) in the household, as much as 8 hours of unpaid work per day and around 10.5 hours of total work on average. The main takeaway from this simple analysis is that males do not do any unpaid work in their own households, and the mother-in-law and

GRAPH 1: Time spent on different work activities (paid & unpaid) by all members of the household in hours per day.



daughter-in-law do all unpaid work with the latter doing disproportionately more work.

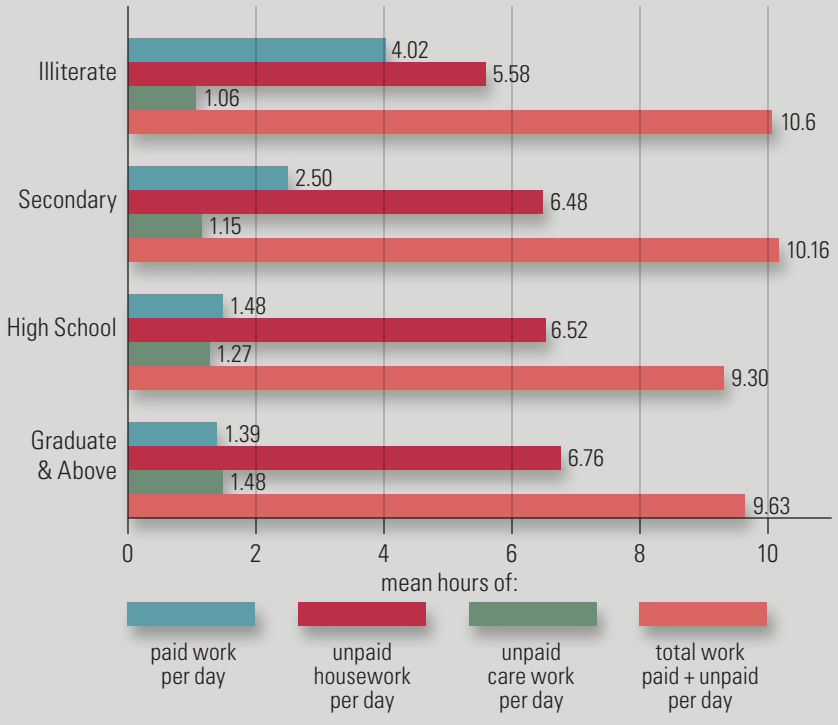
Data reveals surprising facts about the effect of education on the division of labor in the household. In his pioneering work on India, demographer John Caldwell (1984) showed that universal education or mass schooling changed the cultural superstructure of society. He argued that educated women see themselves as part of a larger world and education acts to reduce "the hold of the patriarch," prepares children of both genders to work in a market economy, and informs girls of their economic options outside the home. Caldwell also argued that education transformed the power relationship in a multigenerational household such that, "a young woman with schooling is more likely to challenge her in-laws, and the in-laws are less likely to fight the challenge" (412). According to him educated daughters-in-law can bargain successfully with less-educated mothers-in-law for a larger slice of the family budget to spend on food, and health care for their children. Thus, a young daughter-in-law's education tips the traditional balance of familial relationships in her favor, and by extension she is likely to exert more autonomy by doing less household work and demanding equal participation from her mother-in-law. Therefore one expects that an increase in the education of a daughter-in-law would decrease her unpaid work and increase her paid work in the economy.

Data shows that a daughter-in-law is the most time-poor individual in the multigenerational household as she undertakes significantly more total work, compared to all other members in the household.

According to Caldwell's thesis, their paid work should increase, and unpaid work should decrease as their education increases.

Graph 2 shows the amount of work done by daughters-in-law based on their educational levels. Interestingly, we see the exact opposite: as the education level of a daughter-in-law in a multigenerational household increases, her paid work decreases while her unpaid work increases. How do we explain this anomaly?

GRAPH 2: Time spent on different work activities (paid & unpaid) by daughter-in-law in hours per day based on education levels.



Patriarchal Bargain Theory

Patriarchal bargain theory (PBT) helps explain how the increased bargaining power of an educated daughter-in-law fails to decrease her burden of unpaid household work or increase her opportunities for paid work. PBT notes that educated women are more likely to resist patriarchal norms, and are more likely to be subjected to violence in order to discipline and control their behavior inside and outside the household. While one can argue that patriarchal households should thus prefer daughters-in-law with less education, in reality the reverse happens. Marriage market preferences in India are increasingly skewed towards getting an educated bride because she is thought to be better at raising children.

This creates a dilemma in patriarchal households that feel pressured to accept educated brides for their sons, but are not ready to accommodate their terms. An educated daughter-in-law is subjected to coercion and violence to mold her according to the norms of the patriarchal marital home. These norms aim to confine her to unpaid work in the household and to restrict her mobility outside the household. A woman's mobility outside the household is seen as an opportunity for romantic or sexual encounters out of wedlock, and hence fiercely regulated in patriarchal households. An educated bride does not automatically consent to these restrictions and so she is seen by her marital family as a threat. Thus, a patriarchal household considers non-participation in market work by women as a proxy for sexual fidelity and a marker of family honor.

Since the son is usually employed and away from the home during the day, the task of confining an educated daughter-in-law falls on the mother-in-law. She makes sure that the daughter-in-law is completely devoted to her household duties. When a daughter-in-law is more educated and assertive, her bargaining power challenges the mother-in-law's authority. Thus the mother-in-law exerts more power on the daughter-in-law by giving her even more household work. Within this patriarchal context, daughters-in-law rarely rebel. Instead they are more likely to internalize these norms and do more housework in order to prove themselves to be compliant members of the household. In cases where the daughter-in-law rebels, violence is used. This is evident from the thousands of *reported* cases of domestic violence in India.

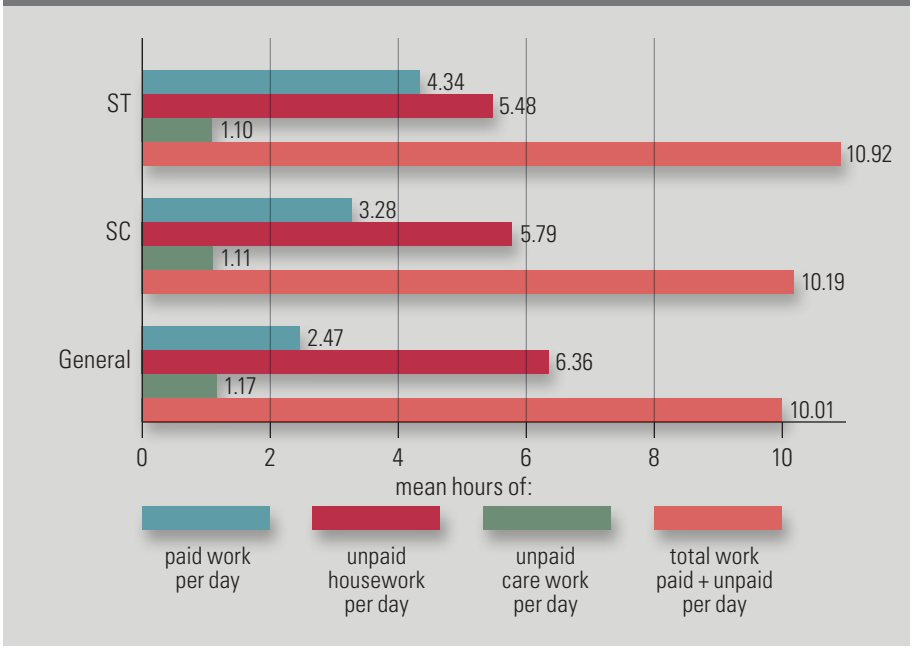
Role of Caste and Class

While PBT helps explain the unexpected results of our time use patterns among educated daughters-in-law, these patterns vary based on the caste and class position of the households.

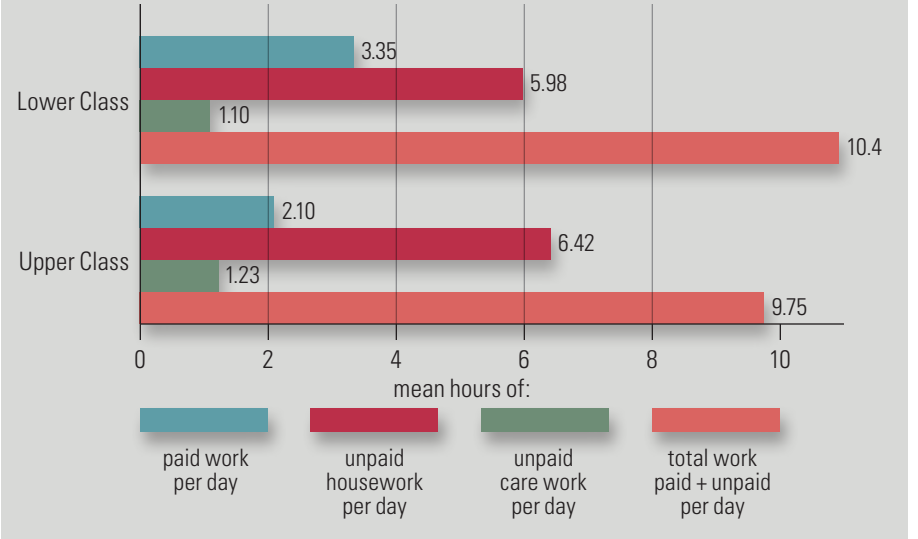
Caste and class heavily influence practices such as marriage, divorce, inheritance, and asset ownership in India. These institutions also shape a woman's options outside the home and her bargaining power inside it.

Graphs 3 and 4 show the time spent per day on different work activities (paid & unpaid) by daughters-in-law based on caste and class identities. Graph 3 shows that daughters-in-law from 'upper caste' households (known as 'General' castes in India) do more unpaid work and less paid work per day as compared to daughters-in-laws from 'lower caste' households. Among these marginalized 'lower caste' groups exist two specific categories of communities that the Indian constitution lists as Scheduled Caste (SC), and Scheduled Tribes (ST).

GRAPH 3: Time spent on different work activities (paid & unpaid) by daughter-in-law in hours per day based on caste.



GRAPH 4: Time spent on different work activities (paid & unpaid) by daughter-in-law in hours per day based on class.



Cartoon featured in **The Hindu***, 2011.*

Graph 4 shows that daughters-in-law from upper class households do more unpaid work and less paid work per day as compared to daughters-in-law from lower class households.

Within the sensibilities of the Indian caste system, the higher a particular caste group is perceived to be, the lesser market work is expected from its women. This means that 'higher' caste households tend to diminish the preference for obtaining work and incidence of women's employment outside the household. On the other hand, such norms are less likely to be imposed in households that belong to the 'lower' castes. These restrictions on the bargaining power of Indian women are part of the patriarchal setup where contact with males outside the household is deemed as 'polluting' and is to be avoided at all cost. Therefore working outside, especially for young married women, is considered socially degrading for the household, and working inside the house is considered a pure form of wifely duty that is enforced as well as rewarded. This effect is particularly strong for the daughters-in-law in 'upper' caste households, causing educated daughters-in-law in 'upper' caste households to do relatively more housework compared to the 'lower' caste household. Since caste and class status in India are highly correlated, upper class women also strictly specialize in household management, spending more time in household/care work. But for lower-class married women, working outside the home is inevitable and is seen as a necessary evil given the need for additional income. Increased education is less likely to be a source of bargaining power for upper caste/class daughters-in-law, who are more likely to be constrained by caste and class than lower caste/class daughters-in-law.

Conclusion

It is easy to imagine that one chooses to spend time based on one's educational qualifications, job, business or interests. However, data shows that social norms and expectations, such as gender roles, play an important role in these decisions. This short piece analyzes the Indian time use survey to show how individuals spend their time not just of their own volition but under the influence of complex societal factors. Finally, these factors are not the same for everyone, but differ based on the privileges of age, household structure, caste, and class.

> The main takeaway from this simple analysis is that males do not do any unpaid work in their own households, and the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law do all unpaid work with the latter doing disproportionately more work.

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Title IX Activists: A First Look at Movement Goals

Jamie Huff and Sarah Cote Hampson

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With the proliferation of the #metoo movement, public attention has focused on the persistent issue of sexual violence. The movement to confront sexual violence has its roots on American college campuses in the activism of students. Beginning around 2011, many students demanded that their campuses create better policies to address sexual violence, and many initiated lawsuits through Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Title IX). Beginning in Fall 2017, we began a study of the goals and strategies of activists using Title IX to confront sexual violence on college campuses and how campuses respond to these demands. This brief article highlights the preliminary results from our ongoing study.

Title IX, the "Dear Colleague Letter," and Legal Mobilization

For much of its history, Title IX has been known as a law affecting university sports. The law, which bars sex discrimination in educational settings, requires equal treatment in educational opportunities. A series of lawsuits gave rise to the idea that Title IX required something more. Beginning with cases like *Mullins v. Pine Manor* (1982), courts held that universities had obligations to keep students safe on campus. In 2011, the Obama administration codified guidelines to help universities determine their obligations under Title IX, called the "Dear Colleague Letter" (DCL). The DCL ordered campuses to address allegations of sexual violence promptly, to use the preponderance of evidence standard used in the civil courts, and to provide accommodations to victims during the investigation process. The letter also required universities to treat all parties to a case equitably and encouraged schools to prevent violence through educational programs. Title IX activists consider the 2011 DCL a major development in addressing sexual violence.

Researchers in our field, Law and Society, have studied the relationship between activism, law, and social change. Using a framework called legal mobilization, we study how activists use law to pursue social change, and how the laws they interact with shape social meaning. Activists in the United States have used law to push for social change from the abolitionist, women's suffrage, and labor movements of the nineteenth century to the Civil Rights, women's liberation, and LGBTQI movements of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. American social movements used law to confront gender inequality in numerous areas, including

***Timesup sign** (Photo Credit: Wikimedia).*

pay equity (McCann 1994), sexual harassment (Epp 2009), and parental leave policies (Albiston 2010; Hampson 2017). Legal mobilization studies examine how activists use the law to achieve their goals, often uncovering how activists make meaning of the law in the process. For example, McCann's 1994 study of the pay equity movement found that while legal victories were few, activists were galvanized by their interaction with the law, ultimately raising their consciousness about issues of inequality. The legal mobilization literature finds similar patterns in other movements—that is, the law itself may not result in immediate social change, but activists' use of the law raises their understanding of legal issues and allows them to draw public attention to social

problems. Our study is the first to apply a legal mobilization framework to Title IX activism.

Methods

This study relies on in-depth interviews with activists confronting campus sexual violence and with university administrators, such as Title IX coordinators, who ensure compliance with Title IX. In this article, we focus on the results from interviews with activists only. We have interviewed 22 activists from a variety of locations and interviews are ongoing.

The interview subjects for this study come from a variety of organizations. Some work for national policy advocacy groups, which shape policy surrounding sexual violence on a large scale. There are also organizations that provide legal assistance to victims of sexual violence by helping victims find legal services, providing legal representation to students, and advising universities on their policies. In addition, many current and former college students have formed organizations that educate others about sexual violence and raise awareness about the requirements of Title IX. To protect the privacy of our interviewees, we use pseudonyms for individuals throughout this paper.

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Our interviews range from 30 minutes in length to an hour and a half. While all interview subjects are asked the same questions about activism, in-depth interviewing allows the subject to offer information beyond the confines of our predetermined questions. We analyze interviews for patterns in responses, tracking the contours of how activists articulate their goals, concerns, and experiences with Title IX.

Interview subjects were also from a variety of occupational positions. The activist community surrounding Title IX comprises many occupations, from national policy advocates to staff attorneys. Our subjects include outreach educators, policy trainers, staff attorneys, civil litigators, and policy advocates. Outreach educators conduct training for students to help them recognize and address sexual violence. Policy trainers take on advisory roles for universities, assisting when crafting policies, and providing training for coordinators and administrators on how to comply with Title IX. Staff attorneys provide legal representation for student survivors as they move through their campus's procedures. Civil litigators use lawsuits to shape the contours of the law. Finally, policy advocates push legislative solutions that they believe will induce change; this advocacy occurs at both the state and federal level. Our analysis includes responses from activists from each of these categories.

Preliminary Results

Within our interviews we found key themes that were immediately evident. First, we identified a set of goals among the activists we interviewed. These goals were: 1) advocacy for survivors 2) empowering students with education around sexual assault and 3) tackling the cultural roots of sexual violence. Three or more interview subjects mentioned each of these goals, and none presented these goals as in tension with the possible goals of other organizations. We believe that these three goals represent activist goals *generally* across the movement.

The first goal we identify in our interviews is advocacy for survivors. Advocacy for survivors means meeting survivors where they are and helping them through the process. Alicia, a staff attorney, says that "justice" may look very different from institutional or societal expectations for victims. She states,

> "my Title IX clients have had concerns about, I don't want him to necessarily be punished or put in jail. I just want justice for what happened. I just don't feel safe at school anymore. I want him to

Bridgewater State University women graduating. *(Photo Credit: Tim Llewellyn).*

> go away from my school. So, that type of victim-centered justice is something that my organization feels very strongly about."

Other activists also talked about the importance of protecting survivors against retaliation. As Megan, also a staff attorney, notes:

> "Two of our really big concerns right now…one has to do with retaliation and making sure that survivors are better protected both from retaliation by the original offender but also third parties, so their associates, and then the other thing is ensuring that accommodations are put into place..."

The second goal we identified was the need to empower students on campuses with education about sexual assault prevention and response. When talking about the relationship with campuses, Shannon, a policy trainer, states, "a lot of what I talk to them about is how are you structuring your campus systems to ensure that victims feel that they can report and that the process is there." Empowering students with the information they need to take advantage of their rights under Title IX was a thread that ran through the interviews at all levels of activist organizations. "One of our main goals…is really informing students about the rights that they have…as much as anyone can try make schools more compliant…I think ultimately empowering students is one of the things we strive for," says Alicia. Chelsea, an outreach educator, noted that her organization is interested in informing students about resources: "for me what I am most concerned about is what resources are available on campus and those outside. And are they fully aware of what the options are?"

The third goal identified in our interviews was that of activists discussing the need to tackle the roots of sexual violence in our culture more broadly (and the limitations of Title IX in getting at this problem). Kate, an outreach educator, noted that her organization provides workshops aimed at "changing campus culture." Other activists stated that Title IX is a limited tool in working toward a more important goal—that of systemic cultural change. Bev, an outreach educator, states:

> "Title IX most often deals with an act of sexual violence or acts of sexual violence that have happened against a person. It doesn't deal with the kind of systemic and institutional macro aggression that also creates a hostile environment… A college campus is a microcosm of the larger society. We're not going to end sexual violence in our society until we look at the root causes of why sexual violence occurs… And for me it's just so much bigger than a federal policy."

Indeed, several activists identified the ability to effect cultural change as a limit to Title IX and its related

policies. Many students are now receiving training about sexual assault and harassment during college orientation sessions. However, activists argued that this was far too late to change students' attitudes about sexual violence. Liz, a policy advocate, noted that they are focusing on "working with younger kids in the K-12 environment" because this group was more likely to be affected by prevention workshops. Another outreach educator had devoted several years to prevention workshops for young people of color for similar reasons—she believed that prevention must begin before students arrive on college campuses.

Attention to the cultural sources of sexual violence is especially important for activists working with marginalized communities. Marginalized students are impacted by sexual violence in unique ways, and cultural norms or stigmas often leave their voices out of the conversation about sexual violence on campus. Several activists discussed their organization's goals in tackling the cultural stigmas around marginalized students. Shannon, the director of a legal aid project, noted that she hears from survivors: "I'm undocumented. I'm LGBTQ, I'm not out, or I'm in an older Christian conservative school and I can't be out, or my family doesn't know. I will be shunned. I'm an immigrant who cannot return home because I've been assaulted. There's just a million identities and policies need to reflect the communities that are going to be frankly, the most vulnerable."

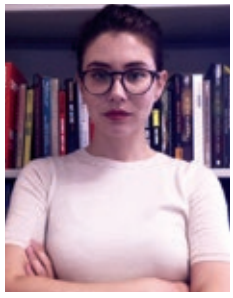
Concerns about marginalized students were at the forefront for many interviewees. The increasing diversity of younger generations means that activists are working with a student population diverse in terms of race, sexuality, gender identity, class status, and immigration status. In keeping with activists' focus on student empowerment, nearly every interview subject mentioned the need to understand how to best reach marginalized populations.

Conclusion and Future Directions

While much of this paper detailed the goals of activists working to confront campus sexual violence, our interviews revealed a much richer picture about the concerns, frustrations, and limitations activists faced. Many activists found themselves working with student clients in situations that Title IX was not drafted to address. For example, a staff attorney noted that Title IX guidance documents have not offered instructions that address retaliatory complaints against student survivors. Other activists noted that even the best, most thorough policy could still be implemented by an incompetent administrator. Still others felt that campus policies veered too much toward the language and process of the criminal justice system. In future work, we will analyze interview responses that speak to the limits of the law and activists' difficulties in using it to address campus sexual violence.

In addition to discussing the perceived limits of Title IX, our future work will also explore how activists and Title IX coordinators view the issue of due process. Our interview subjects expressed divergent views on the issue of due process in Title IX procedures. Most responded that Title IX includes a sufficient equity requirement for the investigation and hearing process. Further, many activists perceived critiques surrounding Title IX and due process to be intentional misunderstandings of the law. Though most activists felt that Title IX procedures were fair to all students involved, some did mention concerns about unfair treatment in campus proceedings. One activist who had previously worked in criminal defense noted that she felt stronger due process protections beyond the already-existing equity requirement would be beneficial to all students.

Finally, we are planning to investigate further how both activists and coordinators view motivations for institutional changes. What are the proverbial "carrots" and "sticks" that make universities change their practices on campus around prevention and response? Moreover, we hope to uncover how effective those changes are when they *do* happen, from the perspective of those involved in their implementation, and from the perspective of those on the outside, looking in, and demanding meaningful change.



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Suspended: The Art of Paul Stopforth

Jonathan Shirland

"I have slowly suspended the narrative context of my search for meaning in favor of pictorial structures that emphasize the use of color...The importance of varied and complex figure/ground relationships suspended in fields of variegated color, constitute a search for beauty and mystery" (Paul Stopforth)

Suspended above the entrance to the Moakley auditorium are two artworks by internationally renowned artist Paul Stopforth donated to Bridgewater State University by Lawrence and Katherine Doherty in 2013. They are exemplary of Stopforth's practice since he moved to the United States in 1988 in that they are technically daring pieces that sparkle with luminosity. If you crane your neck and look slowly, your eyes will become dazzled by the densely dotted surfaces, which allude to Xhosa, Zulu and Ndebele beadwork. These shimmering patterns infuse and harmonize the "fields of variegated color" and the "complex figure/ground relationships" that the artist identifies in the quotation at the start of this essay. But it is his repeated use of the term "suspended" in this section of his artist statement that inspires ways into a fuller appreciation of these paintings, and Stopforth's practice more broadly. As well as meaning to hang above or from something, the term also denotes an indeterminate but imposed cessation, or a painful enforced debarring. In this sense, "suspended' is achingly appropriate for an artist who has endured thirty years of exile from his home country. Stopforth left South Africa heartbreakingly close to the end of Apartheid, the terrible racist regime his activist art repeatedly condemned, most famously in his *Death and Detention* series. Works like *Elegy for Steve Biko* from 1981 (which depicts the charismatic leader of the Black Consciousness Movement on a mortuary tray after his death on 12 September 1977 from brain damage suffered during police detention) made Stopforth one of the most well-known "Resistance Artists." They also made him a target. The difficult decision to settle in Boston with his wife Carol was taken only after many of his activist colleagues had been arrested and his close friend David Webster was assassinated on a Saturday morning having gone to buy groceries at a local supermarket. To be suspended is to be in an unresolved, indeterminate state; to be exiled often results in acutely experiencing a similar condition for perpetuity.

However, if we return to the first definition of being suspended - "hung above something" - the potential benefits of the exilic condition (what Edward Said called its "pleasures" in his essay, "Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals") come into focus. In this sense, being suspended offers the possibility of unique perspective, a special vantage point above the conventional, that connotes a kind of freedom from orthodox judgement and which can foster "appreciative sympathy" to use Said's evocative phrase. For me, Stopforth's practice is full of such sentiments—his outlook has become profoundly humane and optimistic despite the deprivations of displacement. As he remarked in 2010, life in America has made him more generous and open-minded. It also allows him to explore color and gestural mark-making for their own sake; under the constrictions of apartheid, such enjoyment felt like a betrayal of the struggle and its martyrs. Similarly, an interest in the traditional arts of Southern Africa is something Stopforth has only developed in exile, alongside his intense study of Buddhism and Hinduism, a critical armature of his search for healing after moving to Boston. His spiritual and intellectual explorations of a wide variety of world cultures have encoded a truly global perspective into his work. Perhaps exiles necessarily become adept at cultivating a syncretic bricolage in the pursuit of a sustainable suspended identity. Regardless, his works can guide Bridgewater's mission to pursue a generous, enlightened policy of international engagement.

The difficult decision to settle in Boston with his wife Carol was taken only after many of his activist colleagues had been arrested and his close friend David Webster was assassinated on a Saturday morning…

Look at *Alchemist*, made in 1992 (fig.1).

Centered on the stippled surface is a baboon skull interwoven with the outline of a pair of hands. The skull is a reference to the ancient Egyptian God Hapi, whose baboon head adorns the stopper on the canopic jar responsible for the preservation of the lungs. Hapi is the divine guardian of air, and of alchemical transfer from one state to another. This symbolism can be related to Stopforth's testimony that moving to Boston provided space for him to breathe because, "America is big enough to provide people with the opportunities to live out their lives regardless of how they feel connected to, or are affiliated to, the countries that they were born in." The hands interlaced with the skull are playing an invisible flute, perhaps the oldest and most widespread instrument in the world, able to transform breath into music. Its portability and ethereal sound make the flute an ideal medium for the musician as exile. The flute is associated in many cultures with the voice of the Gods; ancient Egyptians believed that Isis spoke through its notes. In

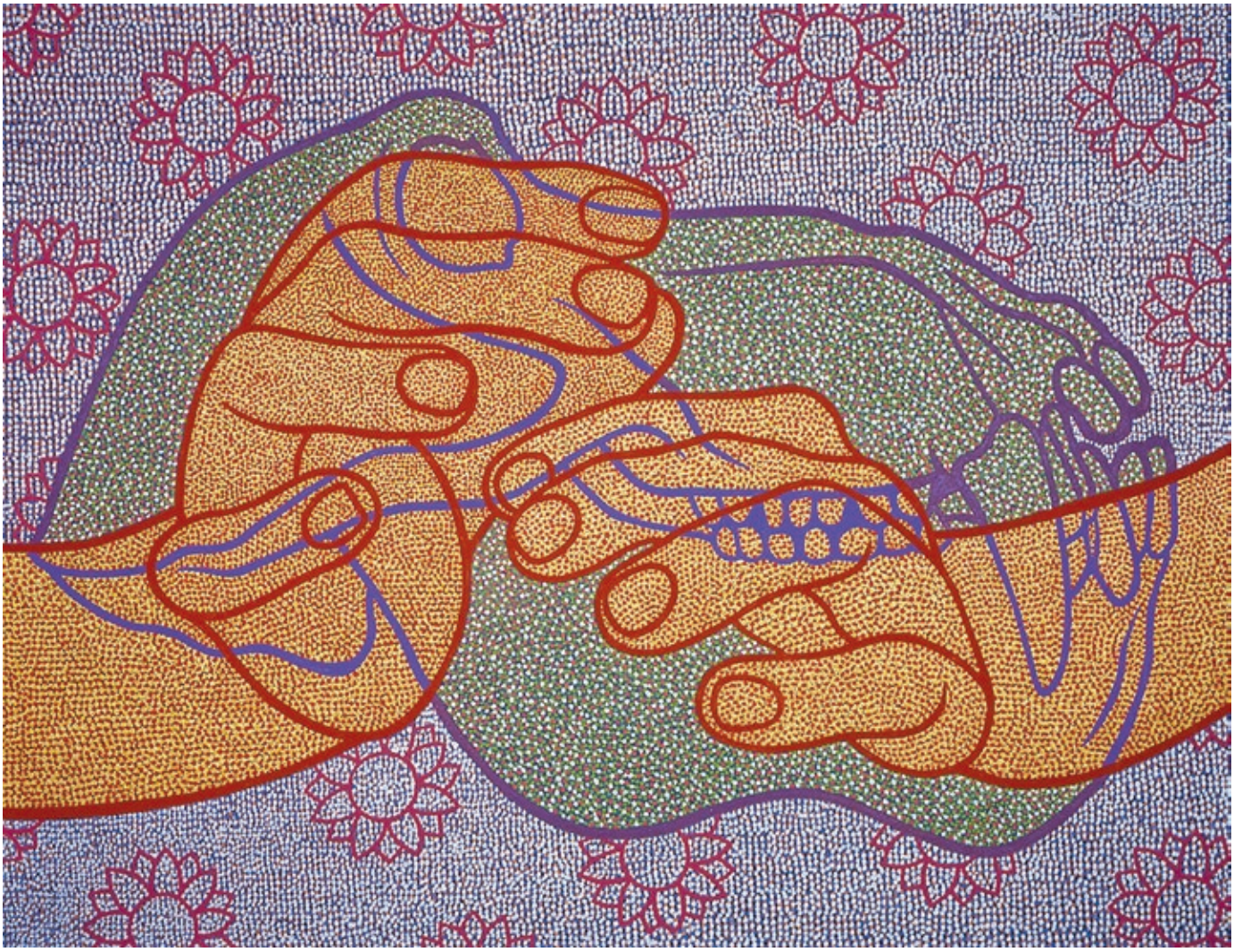

Figure 1: **Alchemist** ***by Paul Stopforth*** *(Photo Credit: Jay Block).*

Figure 2: **Diviner** *by Paul Stopforth (Photo Credit: Jay Block).*

classical mythology, the flute is most strongly associated with Pan's pining for the nymph Syrinx, whom the Gods turned into reeds to save her from his lustful pursuit. Despondent Pan binds some reeds together and blows through them in order to hear Syrinx's voice again. But the most important allusion is to the Hindu God Krishna, whose flute playing can erase separateness and generate unconditional love. In classical Indian dance, there are a series of mudras that delineate flute-playing positions, and many poets have connected the holes in the instrument to the sorrows of the human heart. It is through suffering that the heart is made hollow; yet it is only through such hollowness that it can be transformed into a flute, an instrument for the God of love to play upon. Throughout *Alchemist*'s stippled ground are red outlines of lotus blossoms, another symbol of transformation, one of Buddhism's central allusions to the progress of the soul. Despite the giant hands, minutely worked surface and complex symbolic allusions, *Alchemist* feels light and airy, suspended above the weight of human intransigence.

Next to *Alchemist* in the Moakley auditorium is Diviner (fig. 2).

Made on an unusual cut-out birch wood support, the crouching figure seems at once grounded and weightlessly suspended in the palms of the four wing-like hands around him. His stretched out right hand reiterates the axis of larger hands and is poised in the position of a diviner whether casting sacred nuts or bones, reading animal tracks on the ground, recording results of mystical numerology, or consulting an ancient text. It is also the hand gesture of the painter. Both professions can diagnose afflictions, decode seemingly random patterns, serve as repositories of memory and wisdom, and bring insight into the human condition.

His spiritual and intellectual explorations of a wide variety of world cultures have encoded a truly global perspective into his work.

Figure 3: **Malagasy Mourner** *by Paul Stopforth (Photo Credit: Jay Block).*

Hands are also prominent in *Malagasy Mourner,* also installed nearby in Moakley (fig.3).

The pink outline stretches across the panel and illuminates the rocky ground behind. This is one of Stopforth's more enigmatic works, but the title provides a key to decoding its symbolism. The central motif of a figure astride a cow and holding its ear is derived from a finial on top of one of the dramatic wooden stelae made by the Mahafaly peoples of Southern Madagascar. These monumental sculptural posts, known as *aloalo*, are embedded in dense fields of arranged stones which serve as family tombs, into which bodily remains are interred. The term is derived from the word "alo" meaning "messenger," indicating the importance of these sites for communication with ancestral spirits. Often skulls and horns of the distinctively humped zebo cattle that have been sacrificed during funeral ceremonies are incorporated into these structures, ensuring that they stand out dramatically from the surrounding scrubland alluded to in the background of Stopforth's composition. The title of the work also gestures towards the funerary traditions of the Malagasy people of central Madagascar known as "Famadihana" or the "turning of the bones." During these celebrations held every two to seven years, the remains

> "America is big enough to provide people with the opportunities to live out their lives regardless of how they feel connected to, or are affiliated to, the countries that they were born in."

of the deceased are exhumed, lovingly wrapped in new silk shrouds, anointed with perfume, and danced with in a form of family reunion, before an elaborate re-cleansing and re-burial. Reaffirming the link between the living and the dead, the practice is based on the belief that passage to the spirit world remains incomplete until the body decomposes completely, so Famadihana helps the process along. Grief is part of Malagasy mourning but so too is communal celebration and the two-day festivities blend a joyful affirmation of life with respectful honoring of the dead. During his time teaching at Harvard University, Stopforth used bones in innovative exercises that required students to complete one another's drawings in a ritual of creative interdependency, so allusion to this Malagasy rite seems fitting. More pertinently, a ceremony aiding spiritual passage on one hand and leavening grief through transcendental familial reunion on the other has special resonance for the artist-exile.

The fourth Stopforth work donated by Lawrence and Katherine Doherty is located in the Welcome Center, a particularly appropriate location given the cumulative implications of its symbolism (fig.4).

Initiate is a bas-relief made of sculptamold (a paper and wood adhesive compound) from 1994. Out of a densely dotted shimmering surface inspired by both African beadwork and Aboriginal Dreamtime paintings, a grid of hands and birds moves out into the viewer's space, greeting the initiate as if at a threshold. The birds are oxpeckers, famous for their symbiotic relationship with rhinos, and are thus emblematic of reciprocally beneficial affiliation. Balanced on the larger animal's back and serving as a natural alert system, oxpeckers also signify how to 'ride through' life by using one's 'voice' for communal good. The hands reaching out towards the viewer suggest affirmative mudra gestures to channel the flow of bodily energy in pursuit of insight and healing. The circular markings are reminiscent of the concentric circles composing Aboriginal dreamtime paintings, but also evoke body paint and other cicatrization patterns traditionally used throughout Africa to mark rites of passage. They are embodied signs of new membership but also new responsibility accompanying a change in life status.

The Anderson Gallery held an exhibition of Stopforth's paintings from August 27 to October 15, 2018, organized around the juxtaposition of one of the artist's depictions of the breakwater in Provincetown with Trinity, perhaps the greatest work from his Robben Island series (fig.5).

In 2003, Stopforth became the first artist-in-residence on the rocky outcrop off the coast of Cape Town, most famous as South Africa's maximum

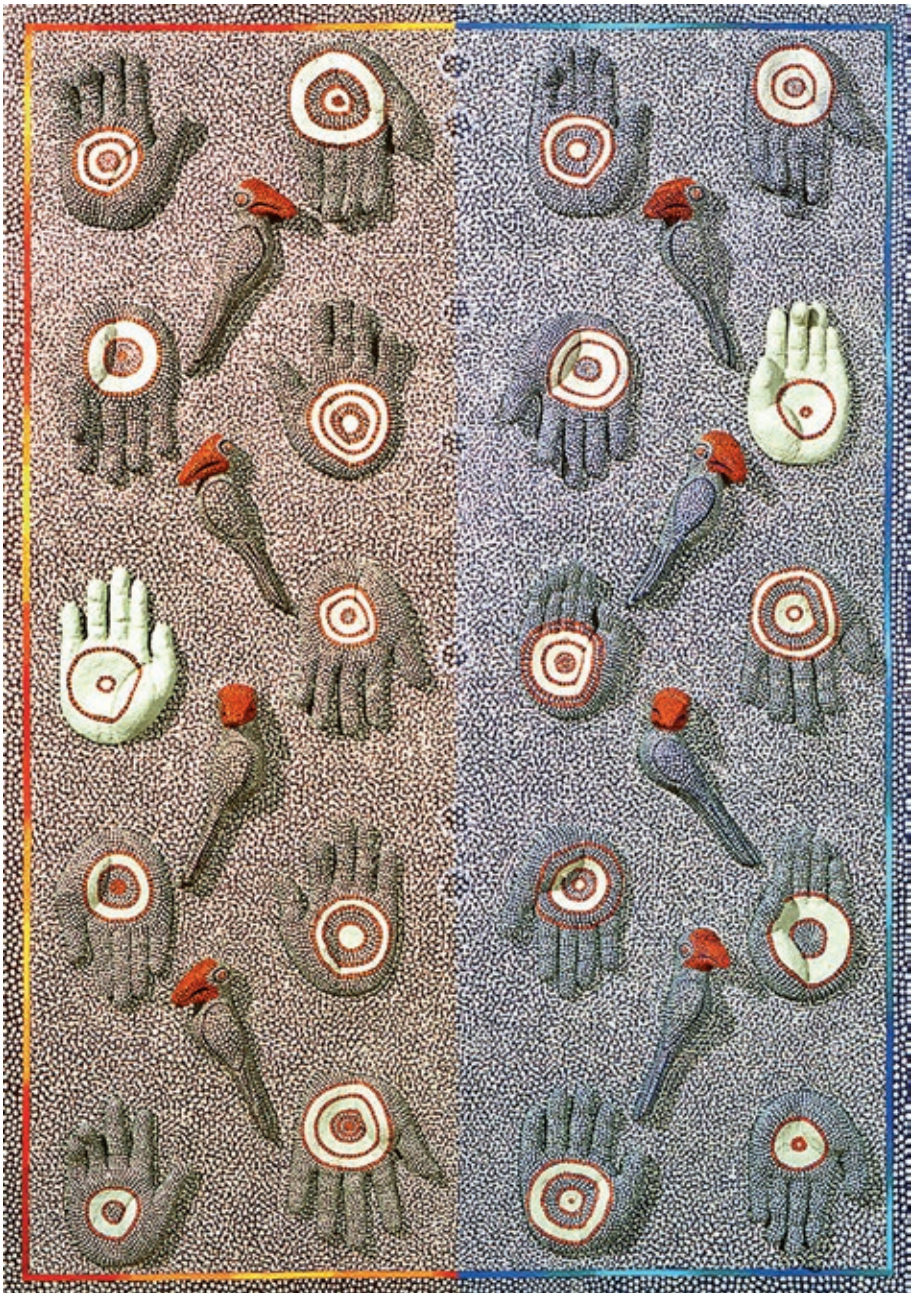

Figure 4: **Initiate** ***by Paul Stopforth*** *(Photo Credit: Jay Block).*

Figure 5: **Trinity** *by Paul Stopforth (Photo Credit: Jay Block).*

security prison from 1961 until 1991, where Nelson Mandela spent 18 of the 27 years he was incarcerated. Three simple stools fashioned by the inmates in the prison workshop span the composition. They seem to float free yet remain suspended in each other's orbit, like three martyred bodies hanging on adjacent crosses (the shapes of the "T" and "Y" behind evoking splayed body parts). Most importantly, the stools convey human companionship even in the incarceration of Robben Island, bringing together Nelson Mandela, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe and Govan Mbeki in a configuration reminiscent of an 'amaphakhati,' a meeting of elders able to resolve conflict through consensus borne of patient, dignified debate. They become a 'Trinity,' a mysterious union of personhood through relationship and community.

Trinity utilizes an extraordinarily varied, liquid ground behind the black lettering and stool motifs that stains the wooden support but also seems to break through the representational elements and erupts on the surface towards the edges of the composition. This is milk paint, a medium Stopforth stumbled across when staining wooden bookcases. Made from milk and lime, and sold in powder form, it can be clotted or smooth, opaquely textured or softly transparent, depending on the mixing with water. Milk paint is evocative of a range of traditional African artistic practices that use casein (the protein in milk) as a binding agent, and Stopforth often then works with charcoal through it. This is one of the techniques the artist has experimented with over recent years in pursuit of the "fields of variegated color" described in his artist statement. His intense engagement with the materiality of paint also bears reference to chemical and medical uses of the term "suspended": the state of a substance when its particles are larger than colloidal size and are mixed with but remain undissolved in a fluid medium. It is an important reminder that for all of the complex symbolic content, Stopforth's practice is forged through deeply considered technical daring. It is when these two forms of visual sophistication are brought together that his art succeeds in its "search for mystery and beauty." If we permit a slight etymological slippage borne of linguistic proximity, a final insight facilitated through pursuing the notion of "suspension" in Stopforth's art is the excited, slightly agitated alertness brought about through the experience of "suspense." His works can hold us in this indeterminate state of uncertain expectancy because of their mysterious yet alluring properties, hovering between abstraction and representation. They are dense with symbolic allusions that offer sudden bursts of insight but ultimately remain beyond formal resolution (in both senses). At the same time, they excite with a luminosity that can shake up our spirits as well as our eyes.

The Stopforth exhibition provided the catalyst for the publication of the first in a new series of studies examining the visual arts collections at Bridgewater State University. My essay for this catalogue, 'Bethesda, Breakwater, Bridgewater,' offers a more in-depth analysis of Stopforth's career and situates the artworks now in the Bridgewater permanent collection in greater art historical context. More importantly, the show precipitated Paul Stopforth's generous decision to donate *Trinity* to the university, complementing the works given by Lawrence and Katherine Doherty. In my opinion, this quintet of pieces constitutes an important and profoundly interconnected collection that greatly enriches the environment we live and work in at BSU.

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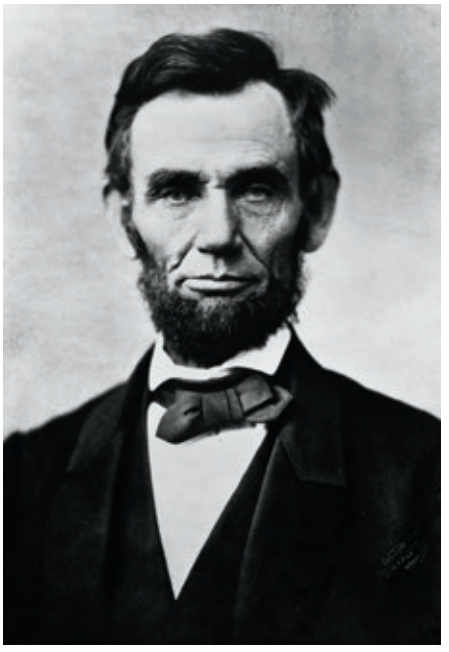
Something Solid to Rest Upon: Abraham Lincoln's Interest in Science

William F. Hanna

As darkness fell on a warm summer evening in August 1864, Dr. Joseph Henry, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, stood in the tower of a building on the grounds of the Old Soldiers' Home, located three miles northwest of the U.S. Capitol. Called by one historian the greatest American scientist since Benjamin Franklin, Henry was a physicist by training. His work on electromagnetism in the 1840s helped lay the groundwork for the first practical telegraph.

Standing nearby was President Abraham Lincoln, whose summer cottage was located adjacent to the Old Soldiers' Home. The two men were together to witness an ultimately successful experiment in which Morse code signals would be flashed by lantern light from the Soldiers' Home with the hope of receiving an answer from a signalman placed across the city in the tower of the Smithsonian Institution. As the Civil War dragged into its fourth year, Lincoln and his generals looked for any advantage that might bring the bloodletting to a speedier conclusion, and they hoped that improvements in communication would help.

Over the previous three years the scientist and the president had developed a highly successful working relationship, based in large part upon Lincoln's lifelong fascination with scientific principles and their practical application. Unlike Dr. Henry, the president's meager formal education had come through brief sporadic attendance in frontier "blab schools." In an autobiographical sketch written during his 1860 presidential campaign, he noted that he went to school only "by littles." Beyond



President Abraham Lincoln, November 1863
(Photo credit: Alexander Gardner).

his ability to read, write and perform simple arithmetic, Lincoln admitted that whatever education he gained afterward had come informally and as required during his rise to professional and political success. "The pressure of necessity," he called it. And yet, as Lincoln matured, he also felt pressure of another kind. Keenly aware of the vagaries of an ever-changing world, he confronted the painful ambiguity of life and death by seeking solace in the laws of physical science.

Lincoln's interest in science and mathematics began in 1833, when he took a surveying job in Illinois. Wayne C. Temple writes that the twenty-four-year old Lincoln mastered enough geometry and trigonometry to earn a reputation as a competent surveyor. William H. Herndon was Lincoln's longtime law partner, and his voluminous correspondence has been collected and edited by Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis. Their research presents a letter in which Herndon remembered that during the same period that Lincoln mastered surveying, he also studied natural philosophy, astronomy and chemistry. "His mind," wrote Herndon, "required and lived in facts, figures and principles." Although generally a patient man, said Herndon, his partner hated abstraction. "If you wished to be cut off at the knees just go at Lincoln with … glittering generalities."

In addition to the demands of frontier surveying, Lincoln also put his accumulating knowledge of scientific principles to another, deeply personal, use. As a young man, Lincoln was an outspoken religious skeptic. It was during this period, wrote his friend James Matheny, that Lincoln, "at least bordered on absolute atheism." He was "enthusiastic in his infidelity," and he used science to argue against scriptural revelation. His was "the language of respect," wrote Matheny, "yet it was from the point of ridicule—[but] not scoff."

In 1834 Lincoln was elected to the Illinois legislature for the first of four terms, and two years later was admitted to the state's bar. After moving to Springfield in 1837 he became a familiar figure within legal and political circles. As a loyal member

of the Whig Party, both in the state legislature and later during his single term in the Thirtieth Congress (1847-1849), Lincoln supported a vigorous program of "internal improvements," and became a strong proponent for the construction of railroads and canals.

Robert V. Bruce, in his prize-winning history of American science, writes that Lincoln's rise to prominence coincided with the era that saw the beginning of modern scientific practice in the United States. In addition to rapid population growth, the three decades after 1846 witnessed geographic and economic expansion resulting in scientific improvements to both agriculture and industry. This period also saw increased specialization in science; more formal education in scientific subjects and more fulltime work in the field. In 1846, the year in which Lincoln was elected to Congress, the Smithsonian Institution was founded and the first issue of *Scientific American* was published. While living in Washington, it is likely that the young congressman visited the National Observatory, which had opened in 1844 with a state of the art telescope. The planet Neptune had been discovered shortly before Lincoln's arrival in the capital and considering his interest in astronomy the Illinoisan was almost certainly a regular at the observatory.

In March 1849, at the end of his congressional term, Lincoln applied for and was granted a patent. Remembering the difficulty of boats trying to navigate the Sangamon River, Lincoln's invention was intended to keep vessels from running aground. Equipped with what he called "buoyant chambers," the apparatus was designed to float a vessel over dangerous shoals. Nothing came of it, and Lincoln returned to his law practice, but to this day he remains the only president ever to hold a patent.

In Lincoln's time, frontier lawyers rode the Illinois Eighth Judicial Circuit, traveling from town to town to hold court each spring and fall. John T. Stuart, the future president's mentor and first law partner, said that Lincoln knew nothing about history, had no faith in biography, and knew only a little geography. Nevertheless, said Stuart, Lincoln "read hard works," remembering that as early as 1844 and continuing after his return from Congress, he carried a volume of Euclid in his saddlebags while traveling the circuit. Indeed during the campaign of 1860, the candidate himself thought it important enough to state that he had "nearly mastered" the six books of Euclid.

> In a world that often seemed random and capricious, Lincoln found comfort and a degree of certainty in the empirical, disciplined domain of science.

While many of Lincoln's friends agreed that he read only to gain specific knowledge and not for pleasure, it was not because there was a shortage of books available to him. Herndon had an extensive library, Lincoln had full access to it, and he occasionally availed himself of the privilege. For example, Herndon remembered that he once brought into the office one volume in a series edited by David A. Wells entitled *Annual of Scientific Discovery*. These books featured brief articles on new developments in science and technology. Herndon wrote that after examining the book, Lincoln rose from his chair and said that he was going to immediately purchase the entire set. After doing so, he told Herndon, "I have wanted such a book for years, because I sometimes make experiments and have thoughts about the physical world that I do not know to be true or false. I may, by this book, correct my errors and save time and expense."

Another book that Lincoln found interesting was Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, published in 1859. This was not Lincoln's first foray into the subject of evolution. Both Robert V. Bruce, and more recently James Lander, have written that he had earlier read Robert Chambers' *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, published in 1844. Based on his partner's interest in the subject and also upon many discussions with him, Herndon stated unequivocally that Lincoln was a well-informed evolutionist.

His election to the presidency in November 1860 gave Lincoln the opportunity not only to meet practicing scientists, but also to influence federal policy toward the adoption and implementation of new technology. During this period he also forged an important relationship with the Smithsonian Institution and Dr. Joseph Henry, its first secretary. The president and his cabinet were ex-officio regents of the Smithsonian, and though they never attended a meeting, Lincoln took an active interest in its welfare. In addition to attending lectures and witnessing the signaling experiments conducted there, he occasionally asked Henry for clarification or information on scientific matters that might affect the war effort. Lincoln also provided critical help in bypassing the

President Abraham Lincoln signing the Charter of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS). Apocryphal rendition shows Lincoln with several founding members of the NAS. Left to right: Benjamin Peirce, Alexander Dallas Bache, Joseph Henry, Louis Agassiz, President Lincoln, Senator Henry Wilson, Admiral Charles Henry Davis, Benjamin Apthorp Gould. (Painting by Albert Herter, 1924, courtesy of the National Academy of Sciences).

War Department's bureaucracy after fire ravaged the Smithsonian Castle in January 1865. Upon an urgent request from Henry, Lincoln saw to it that the building's roof received critically important emergency repairs.

At least once, Lincoln consulted Henry on a matter of personal interest. In 1862, Mary Lincoln, distraught over the death of their son Willie, had turned to spiritualism in an effort to communicate with her lost boy. A séance had been held at either the White House or the Soldiers' Home, and Lincoln, always the skeptic, asked Dr. Henry to look into the subject and figure out how the "communication" actually worked. To comply with the president's request, Henry invited Charles J. Colchester, one of the most prominent psychics of the day, to display his powers at the Smithsonian. When Colchester appeared, Henry quickly determined that the sounds allegedly emanating from "spirits" actually came from something attached to Colchester's body. When the scientist asked to examine Colchester's person, the medium fled.

> …during the first three years of the Civil War, Lincoln, because of his natural curiosity and the obstinacy of the army's bureaucracy, sometimes found himself involved in the development of weapons and ordnance.

Thanks to the Republican Party's majority in both houses of the Thirty-Seventh Congress (1861-1863), Lincoln was able to sign into law two bills that helped join both theoretical and applied science. On May 15, 1862, he signed a bill creating the Department of Agriculture as a separate, non-cabinet federal agency removed from the Patent Office. Its first commissioner, the appropriately named Isaac Newton, was a self-made man who favored a scientific approach to agriculture, and within a short time his department had hired a chemist, botanist, entomologist and statistician. Gabor S. Boritt, in his *Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream*, has written that in supporting the newly independent agency, Lincoln was simply endorsing the traditional Whig "inclination toward intensive, scientific husbandry," and Bruce notes that farmers soon began to appreciate the benefits of applied science. We can perhaps see the president's influence in Commissioner Newton's first

annual report. It was the department's goal, he wrote, "to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before." It appears that the inspiration for those words came from Lincoln himself, who in an 1859 address to the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, said: "Every blade of grass is a study; and to produce two where there was but one, is both a profit and a pleasure."

In July 1862, Lincoln signed the Morrill Land Grant Act into law thus supporting colleges that gave instruction in agriculture and engineering. Originally passed in 1859, this measure had been vetoed by President James Buchanan. Under the terms of the act, each state received 30,000 acres of federal land for each member of Congress in 1860. The land could be sold by the states with the proceeds going to fund the colleges. Engineering courses had been almost exclusively taught at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, but the new law made it possible for other institutions to train engineers.

In March 1863, eight months after the passage of the Morrill Act, Lincoln signed an Act of Incorporation creating the National Academy of Sciences. The president's support came in spite of opposition from his friend Dr. Henry, who feared that the organization would become elitist and undemocratic. Henry eventually overcame his objections and served as the Academy's second president.

Dr. Joseph Henry, first Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. *(Photo credit: Henry Ulke, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution Archives).*

The most extensive study of Lincoln's interest in science and technology has been in his advocacy of certain weapons of war, and in this the bar was again set by Robert V. Bruce, whose 1956 book, *Lincoln and the Tools of War*, remains the standard. Bruce states that during the first three years of the Civil War, Lincoln, because of his natural curiosity and the obstinacy of the army's bureaucracy, sometimes found himself involved in the development of weapons and ordnance. Inventors hoping to skirt regular army channels often appealed directly to Lincoln for help, and this sometimes resulted in a request from the president to the War Department asking that a man be given a hearing.

> …to this day [Abraham Lincoln] remains the only president ever to hold a patent.

Additionally, Lincoln took an interest in any weapon that he thought might bring an earlier end to the war. In 1861, for example, Thaddeus Lowe secured an appointment with the president to present his idea to use hot air balloons for reconnaissance. Lincoln was present as Lowe brought his balloon down Pennsylvania Avenue and tethered it in back of the White House overnight. Lincoln's intervention also led to the Union army's largest order of breach-loading rifles, and also resulted in tests of many unconventional weapons, including incendiary devices and body armor. By 1864, as a Union victory became more apparent, Lincoln's attention was demanded elsewhere and his active efforts to promote new weapons and ordnance substantially decreased.

Twelve weeks after securing a temporary roof for the Smithsonian Castle, Lincoln was dead, and unburdened of the "pressure of necessity." Not only had it made this boy who had gone to school "by littles" one of the most eloquent proponents of human rights, it had also driven his enduring interest in science. "He wanted something solid to rest upon," said his friend Joseph Gillespie, and he pursued it in the mysteries of the physical universe. In a world that often seemed random and capricious, Lincoln found comfort and a degree of certainty in the empirical, disciplined domain of science.

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***Law** (iStock photo Photo credit: Michat Chodyra [www.skycinema.pl]).*

Criminal History and Employment: Why we need to Ban the Box!

Jakari Griffith

After presenting a paper on the relationship between criminal records and employment at an academic conference in 2015, a session attendee came to me and shared that he had once been arrested for a marijuana charge. Although he was an exceptionally bright young man and graduated from a prestigious law school, he was unable to gain employment due to having a criminal record.

Another attendee also shared that he scored a 740 out of 800 on the Graduate Management Admissions Test (GMAT), but had been passed over by several top-ranking MBA programs because of a criminal altercation he had while intoxicated. Because many elite business schools ask about criminal convictions, and in some instances adjudications withheld, he was unable to escape the burden of his criminal past.

In the United States, it is common to hear of these stories. That is because America's prison and jail populations have increased from 300,000 people in 1970 to 2.2 million in 2012. A 2015 article featured in *The Atlantic* claims that the United States "now accounts for less than 5 percent of the world's population…but 25 percent of its incarcerated inhabitants." To make matters worse, incarceration rates have continued to increase even as rates for violent crime have decreased, an effect largely attributed to changes in drug policy and sentencing guidelines. Of the 14 million arrests recorded by the Department of Justice in 2009, for example, less than four percent related to violent crimes.

The rise of this carceral state does not come without severe economic and social consequences. Imprisonment often means loss of a household wage earner, a predicament sending families into near immediate poverty. It means diverting taxpayers' money to federal, state, and municipal correctional budgets. And it also means the loss of professional licensures, significant gaps in employment history, and skills atrophy for the offender. Consequently, there is an even larger penalty to be faced long after the original offense has been committed. That penalty manifests as the failure to find employment (or attend college).

Recent analysis by the Society of Human Resources (SHRM), the non-profit devoted to investigation of employment practices, found that approximately 69 percent of organizations solicit criminal history information from job applicants. This trend is troublesome to some observers who believe that criminal records information is overused, causing many firms to overlook good candidates. Moreover, the inability to find employment is a significant contributor to recidivism. So, is there an alternative that balances the rights of the applicant against the concerns for the employer?

Yes: An increasing number of states and cities are adopting Ban the Box (BTB) policy, which asks employers to delay or refrain from making inquiries into an applicant's criminal history. In 2000, just one state, Hawaii, adopted this legislation; by 2016, it has climbed to 24 states and 150 cities and counties. This policy not only adds integrity to the employment screening process, by compelling employers to focus on candidate skills and qualifications first, but it sets out guidelines that inform when criminal information should be considered during the selection process, if such information is considered at all. Yet, the program is no panacea. Compliance with BTB is hard to verify and the degree to which it helps ex-offenders is largely unknown. In one of the only published articles on the topic, featured in the University of Michigan Law & Econ Research, an examination of 15,000 fictitious online job applications submitted to employers in New York City and New Jersey found a

Metal Wheel Concept *(iStock photo Photo credit: EtiAmmos).*

disturbing pattern of discrimination in the number of interview callback rates. Specifically, applicants without criminal records received 61 percent more callbacks than applicants with criminal records. The employment landscape for ex-offenders appears rather grim.

However, there are good reasons to be hopeful. Following the Baltimore riots in 2015, *The Washington Post* notes that Johns Hopkins Hospital made a concerted effort to hire 174 people with criminal backgrounds, referring to it as "a strategic business decision to not overlook the best talent—even if that means hiring someone who needs a second chance." Moreover, Hopkins' hiring efforts have achieved fairly impressive results. Of the approximately 500 ex-offenders it hired over the past five years, all have shown higher retention rates than non-offenders for their first 40 months of employment. This represents a tremendous business opportunity, considering hospital staff turnover rates hovered around 17.1 percent nationally in 2015.

> America's prison and jail populations have increased from 300,000 people in 1970 to 2.2 million in 2012… the United States "now accounts for less than 5 percent of the world's population…but 25 percent of its incarcerated inhabitants."

In short: Johns Hopkins Hospital has demonstrated to the business community that it is possible (and even profitable) to engage ex-offenders as important human capital assets. If BTB policy had been available to the two conference attendees, they might not have gone without employment for so long. Both men have gained meaningful employment (one was even admitted to a top MBA graduate program), but only after relocating to two different Ban the Box states. And to think, there are thousands of people across the United States living without access to any BTB protections. For their sake, we must continue the push for BTB nationally, so that Ban the Box means second chances for all!

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TEACHING NOTE
Cultural Immersion and Student Perceptions of Jordan

Sarah Thomas and Christy Lyons Graham

In March 2017, nine students from Bridgewater State University [BSU] spent one week in Jordan. In this article, we highlight some of the ways a cultural immersion experience can be transformative for our students and how this trip, particularly, resonated with them. After the trip, students completed an online questionnaire and from their responses, we learned that three areas most influenced by cultural immersion in Jordan were: (1) an increased awareness of social justice; (2) a changed worldview; and (3) empathy for others and personal growth. These outcomes suggest that individuals who participated in the Jordanian study tour may have more cultural empathy for individuals from the Middle East and who practice Islam, hence leading to the development of global citizenship, a major education goal at BSU.

Educating college students for the sole purpose of gaining a set of pre-determined job skills is no longer sufficient in our increasingly global society. In order to be successful, college graduates will need to possess a greater understanding of the complex world in which they will be employed. Furthermore, a more global understanding can lead to an awareness of the importance of overcoming cultural difference and of developing cultural sensitivity in order to work together to address critical, universal needs. Cultural immersion experiences that challenge existing worldviews and assumptions may provide an efficient means to this end (Canfield, Low, & Hovestadt, 2009; Pope-Davis & Coleman, 1997).

Planning for and experiencing the tour

The idea for a study tour to Jordan began after two BSU professors participated in a faculty exchange program with Tafila Technical University (TTU) in March 2016. The faculty exchange program was an effort to forge a collaborative partnership between the two universities. The faculty who participated in the exchange were moved by the kindness of the Jordanians and amazed by the wealth of history in the beautiful country. They were also struck by the similarities in the hopes and fears expressed by TTU students when compared to BSU students. The experience had such a strong impact on the visiting professors from BSU, that we thought offering a cultural immersion study tour to Jordan would provide BSU students with a similar opportunity to learn about Jordanian culture from Jordanians. After a year of planning, students took part in our study tour in March 2017. While in Jordan, we stayed in the city of Tafila at an off-campus hotel populated by students from TTU. Many of the participants remarked that the time in the hotel was especially important

Camels in Petra *(Photo Credit: Sarah Thomas and Christy Lyons Graham).*

because they were living in close proximity to Jordanian students, which enabled them to forge friendships with young people from that culture. The experience of living and socializing with students from TTU thus allowed the American students to reflect on their perceptions of individuals from a different country as well as look inward and confront their own biases.

The tour was designed to allow students interaction not only with Jordanian college students but also with people and organizations in several parts of the country. Students had the opportunity to visit government elementary schools as well as a private elementary school.

Visiting with students at the Abu Bana School *(Photo Credit: Sarah Thomas and Christy Lyons Graham).*

The trip to the schools was included because one of the goals of the program was to expose students to the educational system in Jordan in an effort to see the similarities and differences between U.S. and Jordanian schools. Future tours plan to provide students with the opportunity to teach English lessons to students. Students were also able to experience the natural beauty of Jordan by visiting the Dead Sea, Jarash, Petra, Amman and the Dana Nature Reserve. These experiences enabled the students to feel first-hand what it is like being the "other" as well as broadening their knowledge of another part of the world. Since one of the goals for the trip was to develop global citizenship, a major education goal at BSU, it was not surprising that our students developed cultural empathy for individuals from a Muslim-majority country.

Cultural immersion challenges beliefs and worldviews

Given the divisiveness of today's political climate, understanding different cultures through immersion experiences is a critical way people can become better informed global citizens, an extension of one of the historical aims of education: cosmopolitanism. Global citizenship requires thinking beyond one's own set of experiences, working together to solve world problems and to create a more inclusive society. Changing demographics of the United States means that U.S. students must be prepared to work with individuals from different countries, regardless of location, employment, or socioeconomic status.

Research has shown that for individuals to become citizens of the world, they must develop a keen understanding of their own worldview and develop cultural empathy. A good way to do this is through interaction with people who are not from the United States (Reimers, Chopra, Chung, Higdon, and O'Donnell 2016). In order to significantly reconstruct one's worldview, individuals must encounter situations that challenge their existing paradigms; situations requiring them to reexamine existing perspectives (Mezirow, 1990). There may be no better way for individuals to learn about another culture and to think more deeply about themselves within their own cultures than by working and living in another country, a highly effective form of experiential education. Our students reported that they gained a greater sense of cultural empathy from their interactions with the students and professors from TTU. One student stated, "It is one thing to strive to learn about other culture, but meeting people from that culture is the most important thing you can do to understand [the culture]."

Historically, there have been concerns about the lack of global awareness Americans have compared to their counterparts from other countries, which can lead to stereotypical beliefs and misunderstandings (Unger, 2015). If Americans do not learn from and about other cultures, their ability to be productive members in an increasingly global society decreases. How is one able to work effectively with members of another culture if one's worldview is

so insular that stereotypes of those who are different are at the forefront of one's mind? Without a broad worldview, individuals are cutting short social and economic opportunities, which could impact future generations across the globe. Fortunately, beliefs are influenced by practical experience and practical experience influences beliefs.

The concern that Americans lack a broad worldview is one reason it is essential for universities to provide opportunities and encourage student participation in cultural immersion programs. Every student on our Jordan trip reported that their participation in this program changed their worldview, which could ultimately enable them to look at individuals from other cultures with more empathy. For instance, one student said, "[Prior to this experience I was exposed to] many misconceptions about a Middle Eastern culture and Muslims and now I have a much more complex understanding of Jordan and their compassionate people."

Students' reflections on their learning

Our paper considers survey responses from the nine students who participated in our immersive Jordanian study tour. One student had recently earned a master's degree; six were undergraduates and two were enrolled in a master's program. Of these students, eight were female and one was male. After the tour ended, we provided students with a 10-question online survey. Eight students started the questionnaire. Seven students completed all ten questions. Though it is a tiny, non-generalizable sample, students' reflections provide clear evidence for the importance of cultural immersion opportunities. Their responses illustrate the impact an immersion experience had on their worldviews, feelings of social justice, and cultural empathy.

The ten survey questions focused on how and in what capacity the cultural immersion experience changed them. Of the seven respondents, three (43%) said that their participation in the Jordan study tour caused them to be more accepting of differences between people. Interestingly, a slightly higher response of four (57%) respondents said the experience caused them to want to search out and cherish the differences in people, which was not expected. When they elaborated on these themes, a participant said they were "nervous" to visit Jordan, but once we arrived and met the inhabitants their worldview changed "100 times over," and that they "fell in love with it." Two other respondents suggested that the experience enabled them to learn about Islam and recognize that the stereotypes regarding Muslims that permeate the media are not necessarily true. One participant stated, "having actual interactions with [people] from a different culture than my own is the easiest way to gain an understanding and empathy of their worldview."

> Study participants were consistent in reporting that they now have a better understanding of Islam and are able to view Islam through a lens that is not afforded to most Americans.

We asked participants if their involvement in the study tour would influence their future actions, conversations and/or decisions and all responded yes. When asked to explain, participants stated they would use the experience to educate others about people from the region and dispel the Muslim terrorist myth that is perpetuated in the media, while others said the experience would have a direct impact on their work with disadvantaged groups and influence their pursuit of social justice. A participant remarked that the experience completely changed their perception of the Middle East as a "bad place", to an area of a world that they would like to visit again. And finally, a participant stated that the experience "caused me to be bold in conversation regarding culture", leaving us to speculate that the participant has grown more comfortable challenging disingenuous stereotypes of Muslims by some Westerners.

Perhaps the most poignant responses were provided in answer to the following fill in the blank: "Regarding my perception of the Middle East, before I went to Jordan I used to think _____, but now I think _____." Answers varied from focus on travel and religion to US intolerance of Muslims and commonalities, for example:

> I used to think "*That our cultures have nothing in common*," but now I think "*our cultures have more in common than we know.*"
>
> I used to think "*Religion dictated every aspect of [Jordanian] people's lives*," but now I think "*but now I know I was wrong.*"
>
> I used to think "*it was a horrible place*" but now I think "*they are the kindest people.*"

From these and other responses, it is evident that participation in the cultural immersion study tour had a profound impact on participants. Many of the students suggested that this experience provided them with a new perspective on people in the Middle East, Muslims in particular, and this knowledge will be beneficial in their chosen professions. Terms such as advocate, social justice, and empathy were routinely used in the responses, as well as the words kindness and compassion.

The final survey question asked participants to state the most significant takeaway from the experience, and answers highlighted the depth and breadth of the impact. One participant responded that conflict was caused by people and not religion, while another said the experience illustrated the kindness of the people and had a lasting impression. It should be noted, however, that the majority of the responses touched upon how an opportunity to experience another culture is what enables someone to truly understand another culture, and this is what ultimately had the most impact on our students.

Visiting a school in Jordan *(Photo Credit: Sarah Thomas and Christy Lyons Graham).*

The importance of study tours and study abroad

While the findings of our small pilot study support the idea that participation in a cultural immersion study tour impacts one's worldview, and in this case, understanding and acceptance of Islam, what cannot be overstated is the personal growth participants experienced while in Jordan. Study participants were consistent in reporting that they now have a better understanding of Islam and are able to view Islam through a lens that is not afforded to most Americans. The friendships created and the desire to return to Jordan can only support the belief that participation in a cultural immersion project has lifelong implications for those who participate and, by extension, for people who later interact with participants. The results of this cultural immersion study tour provide an impetus to challenge BSU and other institutions to encourage students to visit places where they may be the "other" so they can confront their beliefs and worldviews, learning from people who are different from them. In providing these opportunities, BSU will play a role in creating cross-cultural awareness, but, more importantly, will provide a powerful influence on students' perceptions of the world around them and their abilities to bring about positive change.

> The concern that Americans lack a broad worldview is one reason why it is essential for universities to provide opportunities and encourage student participation in cultural immersion programs.

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We Are What We Make

Todd Harris

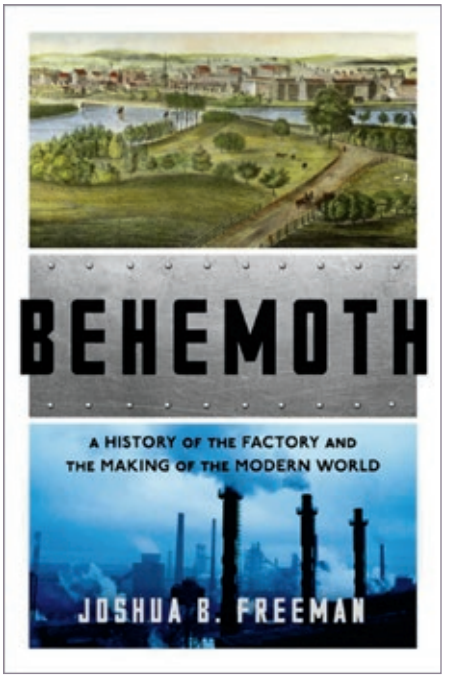
Joshua B. Freeman, *Behemoth: A History of the Factory and the Making of the Modern World* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2018).

The shirt on your back. The phone in your hand. The shoes on your feet. What do these three items have in common? Each of them was very likely made in a factory. For better or worse, we live in a factory-made world, or at least many of us do. Modern life is built on three centuries' worth of advances in manufacturing efficiency, productivity and technology. *Behemoth: A History of the Factory and the Making of the Modern World* written by Joshua B. Freeman, is a cogent, novel and accessible overview of how the modern factory system developed. Freeman, a distinguished professor of history at CUNY-Queens College, claims that large factories impact almost everything that we touch, see and experience, and underpin the modern consumer economy. Many people would find it difficult to survive, even for a short time, without factory-made products.

Freeman ranges widely across place and time, transporting the reader from eighteenth-century England to twenty-first-century China. In his superb telling, Freeman deftly connects the factory, which he defines as "a large workforce engaged in coordinated production using powered machinery" to important cultural, social, political and economic consequences.

Freeman's book can be read as a cri de Coeur to push the factory back into modern consciousness. In the United States, it is typically the *absence* of factories garners attention. The United States lost nearly five million factory jobs between 2000 and 2016. In 1970, more than a quarter of U.S. employees worked in manufacturing. By 2010, only 1 in 10 did. This trend is not restricted to the United States. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) data, Germany's share of manufacturing jobs has been halved since the early 1970's, and Australia's has dropped by two-thirds. These jobs are commonly seen as "good jobs"—relatively stable and comparably high-paying. The steady erosion of factory jobs in the western world has been the subject of withering critiques from the political left and right alike and has been implicated in tectonic political plate-shifting such as Brexit and the 2016 election of Donald Trump. As the factories went dark, something else was extinguished as well—a vision of the future where material prosperity is widely shared and children outpace the accomplishments of their parents.

Freeman's sure-handed exploration reminds readers that factories used to elicit strong emotions—awe, wonder, hope and fear. The powerful psychological responses many people had to factories was at least partly attributable to their sheer size. Ford's River Rouge plant, designed by Alfred Kahn, the foremost factory designer of the twentieth century, had a building with a floor area of 1,450,000 square feet, 142 miles of conveyors and monorails, and was situated on a 1,096-acre site. At its peak, in 1929, it employed 102,811 workers. It was the largest and most complicated



factory ever built, a testament to human ambition, problem solving and creativity. Another Ford plant, Highland Park, where the workforce numbered 55,300, seemed small by comparison.

Freeman treats at length the prominent role of women in factories, especially after concentrated manufacturing made the leap from the "old" England to the "new." European writers visiting New England textile centers such as Lowell in the mid-nineteenth century were often struck by the sharp contrast of the soot-belching urban factories in English cities such as Lancashire and Manchester. In *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States: Being a Series of Letters on North America*, Michael Chevalier, a French political economist, described manufacturing as "the canker of England," while he found the sight of Lowell to be "new and fresh like an opera scene." Freeman informs us that in some New England mills, women constituted 85% of the workforce. As a point of comparison, today across the United States women account for 29% of manufacturing employment. Mill owners in New England largely recruited young women from farms as a workforce due to a paucity of alternatives. Owners sought to avoid the social disapproval that accompanied the wholesale employment of children. Contrary to Britain, New England did not have large numbers of urban male workers or an over-populated countryside to draw labor from. The women tended to be young, unmarried, well educated and used to doing hard work. Additionally, to the mill owners' liking, they also were a revolving labor force. If and when they became unhappy or economic conditions deteriorated, they could return to their families rather than staying nearby and fomenting discontent and disorder.

Paternalistic mill owners did their best to provide morally uplifting and culturally enlightening environments, with some mills even publishing journals of poetry and fiction and hosting lectures. For these workers, the mill gave them an opportunity prior to marriage to broaden their perspectives, lead a more cosmopolitan and independent life, and to assist themselves and their families financially. Unfortunately, jobs in the mills were strictly segregated by sex, with women holding almost all of the jobs involving operating machinery, and men doing all of the construction and holding all of the management positions.

> The United States lost nearly five million factory jobs between 2000 and 2016. In 1970, more than a quarter of U.S. employees worked in manufacturing. By 2010, only 1 in 10 did.

Freeman also shows how the shift from an agrarian economy to a manufacturing economy impacted the nature and meaning of work. The physical conditions, organization and the required competencies of employees in a factory differed drastically from those on a farm. For example, for the first time, an employee's schedule was dictated not by the seasons and the rising and setting of the sun, but by the clock. Instead of spending the day with a relatively small number of friends and family members, the factory worker interacted in some form with thousands of strangers. The ability to do highly structured, largely repetitive work, often in harsh conditions and for low pay, became prized. In 1914, Henry Ford's assembly line reduced the time needed to assemble a car from twelve and half hours to ninety-three minutes, but also lead to a nervous condition that employees labeled "Forditis," as well as a staggering employee turnover rate of 370%.

Factory work proved more physically and psychologically demanding than other types of labor. A "desirable" worker was no longer one with deep knowledge and a mastery of a craft, but one possessing speed, manual dexterity and endurance. This shift in how work was done and the required attributes of those doing it may have reached its apotheosis in Frederick Winslow Taylor's "Scientific Management," which posited that there was "one best way" to do a job. Workers' autonomy was reduced, and more cognitively demanding tasks such as work planning and coordination became strictly the province of management. Contrast this approach with what contemporary management scholarship counsels regarding increasing work motivation and job satisfaction—paying workers equitably and giving them a sense of autonomy, purpose, and progress.

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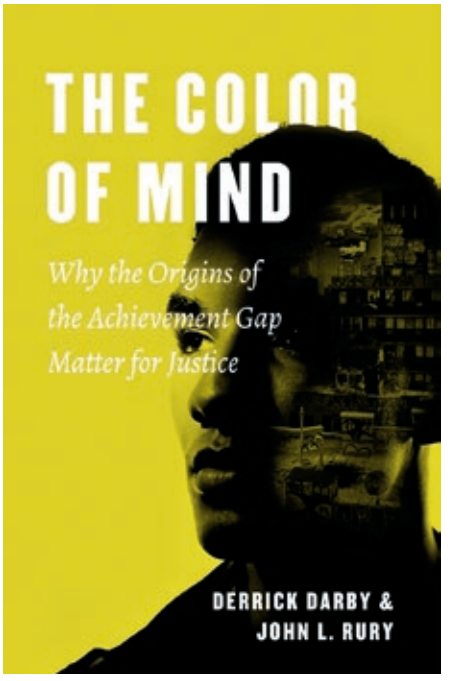
Dignity, Justice and Real Achievement

Jeanne Ingle

Derrick Darby and John L. Rury, *The Color of Mind: Why the Origins of the Achievement Gap Matter for Justice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).



The Color of Mind is a gift to educators and future educators who seek to understand inequality in our schools and the persistence of institutional racism. Teachers work hard. Teachers in inner city schools work exceptionally hard, 50-60 hours per week on average. To work so hard and to see your students not achieve on standardized tests is extremely frustrating, but the day-to-day achievements are amazing, invigorating, and what makes it all worthwhile. I know this because I was an inner-city teacher and I have had experiences just like those highlighted in Darby and Rury's book.

Sebastian came to my fourth grade classroom in the second half of the school year. He was bright, creative, and extremely impulsive. On his first day of school we were prepping for the high stakes state testing that my students would begin the following week. He had a rocky first week, and I spent a lot of time on the phone with his mom discussing his needs, his past performance, and anything else I might need to know. I found out that Sebastian and his family had recently been evicted, that they had moved across the state to live with an aunt, and that his mom was trying to leave an abusive relationship behind. I also found out that Sebastian was a wonderful artist, a significantly below-grade-level reader, and a pretty strong student in math. He was also funny, sweet, and harbored an explosive temper. You might be wondering if I spoke with Sebastian's former teacher. I did, but he couldn't help me much since Sebastian had only been in his room for three months – Sebastian's family was in crisis. In Sebastian's second week in my class we began four days of standardized testing that would have multiple implications for Sebastian, our school, our school district, and me.

Fast forward to the following summer when I received Sebastian's scores (that's right, teachers don't often get their students' standardized scores for months following the actual testing). Unsurprisingly, Sebastian did poorly in almost every area. Not because of Sebastian, but because we had so many children like Sebastian, our test scores as a school and as a district were also poor. Five years after Sebastian left my classroom, the school district continues to fail.

Sebastian was complicated, but also a delight to work with. He loved drawing, especially cartooning. He would create extensive illustrations of whatever book we were reading in class; he made a series of drawings depicting what the Titanic might look like if built today, including a gaming room, basketball court, and a minutely detailed food court. How does this creativity and life experience get measured in our current system of achievement testing? Short answer: it doesn't.

As a former inner-city teacher, I found *The Color of Mind* neither easy to read nor shocking in its revelations. Racism is old and deeply entrenched in Western culture. "The Color of Mind" is a term Darby and Rury use to describe the "construction of racial differences in intellect, character and conduct, … and its role in establishing racial inequality of educational opportunities and other opportunity gaps, has had a profound impact in shaping the racial achievement gap" (142). The Color of Mind is a systematic racist view of black people's intelligence, performance and abilities. It is not a new view invented by white supremacists, the KKK, or even Southern slaveholders. The Color of Mind is as old as the first European/African encounters and is well articulated in the work of Kant, Hume, and Thomas Jefferson.

The book meticulously documents the cultural and societal programs that have maintained The Color of Mind so that it permeates every aspect of our society, and nowhere so glaringly or so profoundly as our educational system.

The book meticulously documents the cultural and societal programs that have maintained The Color of Mind so that it permeates every aspect of our society, and nowhere so glaringly or so profoundly as our educational system. To understand the achievement gap between white students and black students in this country, Darby and Rury argue that it is necessary to understand that current educational failings are deeply rooted in the philosophical and political history of the United States. Racial bias and white dismissiveness of black intellectual ability are part of our origin story and drive the programs we utilize today to educate our children.

The achievement gap traditionally measures the difference between black and white student academic achievement. Darby and Rury cite data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), commonly known as "The Nations Report Card." NAEP measures student achievement in math, reading, and science at ages 9, 13, and 17. The overall academic achievement gap between black and white students is approximately 30 percentage points (19). *The Color of Mind* goes beyond academic performance to include the alarming statistics that black students are three times more likely to be suspended from school than white students and are twice as likely to drop out than white students. I agree with the authors that all these statistics taken together are the real measure of the black/white achievement gap. It is nothing short of frightening.

I once went with another student, Luis, and his mom to a disciplinary meeting. Luis had gotten into a fight on the playground. I don't know whether he started the fight or not, but he definitely hit another child. Luis' mom was upset. She lashed out at the school psychologist, saying that her son needed support, that he wasn't a bad person—everything a mother would say to defend her child. After the meeting the school psychologist looked at me and said, "Apple, tree – what can you expect from that kind of background." I thought of that story as I read Darby and Rury's discussion of "No Child Left Behind," "Zero Tolerance" and other flawed and failed programs. Luis was expelled for *three* days – three days without instruction, three days to fuel his anger and three days that would remain in his academic file and label him. All for a two-minute playground event when he was ten years old.

Understanding that racism was justified by the Ancient Greeks, secured in European culture, and planted and cultivated in our country is sobering. Darby and Rury review and retell this history of qualified egalitarianism which began with Aristotle's view of "natural slaves" and continues to Jefferson's ideal that "all *men* are created equal." They argue that neither No Child Left Behind or nor even Plessy vs. Ferguson caused the achievement gap; but rather the view that there is a natural hierarchy is deeply embedded in our culture and our history. All men may be created equal but that equality depends on how you define a man or a person. "Qualified egalitarianism thus is a useful conceptual framework for making sense of the long-standing socially and legally constructed racial patterns of unequal treatment and opportunity in America" (32).

With this kind of historical depth and societal foundation it is easy to wonder if anything can be done. Darby and Rury present *The Color of Mind Index* (150), an accountability tool that asks educators to measure the number of black students expelled, placed in special education, or tracked into remedial classes. The higher the ratio of black to white students in these areas, the higher the indignity to these children. In the end it is dignitary justice that *The Color of Mind* argues for, and it is dignitary justice that we as educators must champion. The authors bring their unique blend of historical and philosophical viewpoints to the fore as they examine with skill and readability the past and present of education.

Student names are replaced with pseudonyms in this review to protect the privacy of those mentioned.

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The One True Universal

Norma Anderson

Barbara Ehrenreich, *Natural Causes: an Epidemic of Wellness, the Certainty of Dying, and Killing Ourselves to Live Longer* (New York: Twelve, 2018).

In the beginning of her most recent book, *Natural Causes: an Epidemic of Wellness, the Certainty of Dying, and Killing Ourselves to Live Longer*, Barbara Ehrenreich admits that she has made the somewhat unusual decision to forego preventative medical care. Noting that most of her similar-aged peers were deeply enmeshed in a never-ending battle against getting old, including unappealing diets, exercise regimens, and a bevy of exploratory medical tests, Ehrenreich writes that she had a different response to aging: "I gradually came to realize that I was *old enough to die*," and "decided that I was also old enough not to incur any more suffering, annoyance, or boredom in the pursuit of a longer life" (2-3, emphasis in original).

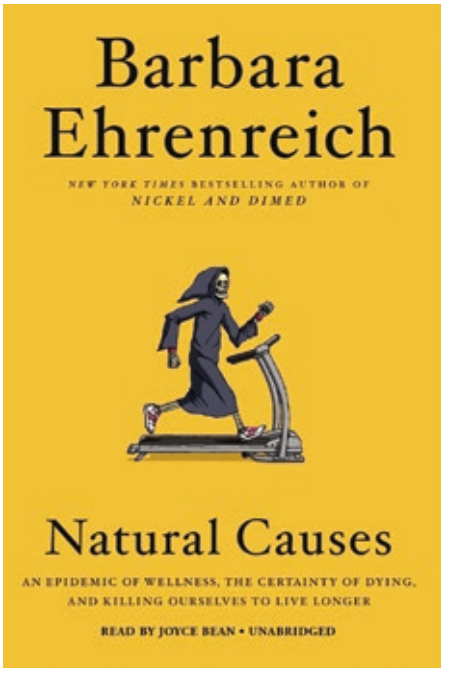
Ehrenreich endured breast cancer in the early 2000s, and a false positive on a mammogram, a decade later, leading to weeks of stress, anxiety, and distraction, helped prompt her decision. But her critical consideration of medicine began when she was a young woman expected to be quiet and pliant as her doctor performed invasive tests and procedures and delivered her children. These experiences not only awakened her to feminism but also impelled Ehrenreich to question medical professionals, rather than simply follow orders.

Lest anyone accuse her of a misguided campaign against the wonders of modern medicine, Ehrenreich assures the reader she eats well, exercises for the joy of it, and will seek care when she feels there might be an issue, but simply refuses to seek out problems. For instance, when her dentist encouraged her to get tested for sleep apnea, and Ehrenreich balked, insisting she has no symptoms of the problem, "the dentist said that I just might not be aware of it, adding that it could kill me in my sleep. This, I told her, is a prospect I can live with" (7).

But it was not only her own experiences with medical care that sent Ehrenreich researching and writing *Natural Causes*, it was ongoing and enlightening scientific research, some of which she found deeply disturbing. While most of us recognize Ehrenreich for her bestselling *Nickel and Dimed: On Not Getting by in America*, she earned her doctorate in cell biology, conducting research on microphages, immune cells "considered the 'frontline defenders' in the body's unending struggle against microbial invaders" (XI). Her research had given her great respect for our immune systems, and microphages in particular, so when she read an article that implicated them in assisting the growth of some cancerous tumors, Ehrenreich was dismayed, to say the least.

The breast cancer Ehrenreich suffered in 2000 is one of numerous cancer types that the immune system has been shown to abet, thus the cells she once studied and celebrated might well have played a role in her own illness. Looking further into current and ongoing research, she learned that there is growing awareness of "cellular decision making" and that "the natural world, as we are coming to understand it, pulses with something like 'life'" (XI). Whereas we like to believe we have control over our bodies, that mindfulness, eating habits, and medicine can increase our longevity, Ehrenreich began to accept that if indeed our immune cells are neither all good nor all bad but in fact act in ways we can not understand or predict, then we don't actually have control at all.

From these starting points, it should be clear that the book is of interest to those of us who are aging, might possibly begin aging, have parents or



family members who are aging, or those of us who might one day die. But Ehrenreich's style is thoroughly critical: for anyone who is deeply committed to the omnipotence of science and medicine, or even the absolute power of mindfulness, positivity, and the primacy of the self, you might find yourself defensive in a few places as she takes aim at socially accepted truisms.

Her early chapters examine humiliating and sometimes even assault-like realities of medical procedures (for anyone who has ever experienced a pelvic exam or mammogram, you know exactly what she is talking about here). They also detail how medicine has, historically, been rooted not in evidence but, rather in authority and ritual, a fault not simply of the medical system but also of patients who expect certain procedures and tests (even when unnecessary).

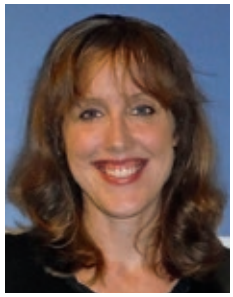
Ehrenreich then explores the enormous commodification and inequalities of health, wellness, and mindfulness, considering gym culture, simplified meditation rituals (those two-minute mindfulness apps on your phone), the rise of various fad diets and pills, and companies' investment in "wellness" for their employees. To be open to her criticism here, it is important to consider how often we blame poor health on people (consider commonplace social proscriptions against smoking, drinking—did you read that recent study of how *any* alcohol is bad for you?[1] —and a sedentary lifestyle. We are often presumed guilty, or at least complicit, in our own illnesses).

> Looking further into current and ongoing research, she learned that there is growing awareness of "cellular decision making" and that "the natural world, as we are coming to understand it, pulses with something like 'life.'"

Given a tendency to assign simple causality for illness, wellness culture fills a large void. Fitness guides and Silicon Valley tech gurus have all monetized the realm of living well, living long, and controlling our bodies to fight death. "Conflict may be endemic to the human world, with all its jagged inequalities, but it must be abolished within the individual" (111). Though the list of well-known fitness or tech giants felled by illness in their middle age is significant (Steve Jobs, Apple founder, Jerome Rodale, founder of *Prevention* magazine, and numerous others) longevity and holistic health have become middle and upper-class pursuits, further marginalizing those who don't have the time, money, or even ability, at the end of working multiple shifts, to devote themselves to wellness.

Much of the latter part of *Natural Causes* focuses on our growing understanding of immunity and cellular biology. While research scientists might grumble at Ehrenreich's simplification of complex biological processes, laypeople might grumble at her facility with scientific terminology and focus on microscopic life. But it is her explanations of cellular behavior (and a final look at the historical growth of a concept of "self") that round out the book and emphasize her argument that we should live our lives "to die into the actual world, which seethes with life, with agency other than our own, and, at the very least, with endless possibility" (208).

For me, the richest parts of Ehrenreich's work are those that meld her personal experience and acerbic wit with social and scientific research. Unfortunately, in several places, the book strays from these. But regardless of whether we agree or disagree with her interpretations and use of research, *Natural Causes* raises interesting ideas of selfhood, health, and the absolute certainty of dying.



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[1] https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(18)31310-2/fulltext#seccestitle70

READERS RESPOND

to Editor's Notebook:

Just wanted to let you know how much I enjoyed your Editor's Notebook—Brought back some interesting smell-scape memories … One from my first interview at BSC … walked by the painting studio and immediately thought "I am at home here." The terps. and linseed oil smell wafted out of the painting studio … ahhhhh did love it although a few years later the department decided that we should use the environmentally more friendly acrylic paint.

The other scent scape (not so nice) prominent memory was of the dumpster just below my office window in Tilly. Swapped for another office and lucky Roger Dunn got that one.

- Professor Dorothy Pulsifer
Department of Art

Bridgewater Review *encourages feedback and welcomes all comments from its readers.*

Call for Submissions

Bridgewater Review invites submissions from full- and part-time faculty members and librarians, and others in the BSU community. *Bridgewater Review* is published twice yearly by the faculty and librarians of Bridgewater State University. It provides a forum for campus-wide conversations pertaining to research, teaching, and creative expression, as well as a showcase for faculty art. Articles in all disciplines and genres are welcome and encouraged, including scholarship about research interests and trends, scholarship about teaching and learning, creative writing, and short reviews of other publications.

Articles should be 1700-2200 words in length, though shorter articles will also be considered. Creative writing can be submitted at lengths briefer than 2200 words. Those wishing to submit are asked to consult the *Bridgewater Review* submission guidelines (available from the Editor). In keeping with the founding spirit of our faculty magazine, the editors are equally interested in unfinished pieces of writing that may need assistance with revision and in polished pieces that are publication-ready. All submissions will be reviewed, but there is no guarantee that submitted work will be published.

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